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WHO ARE THE SLAVS?

A CONTRIBUTION TO RACE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

PAUL R. RADOSAVLJEVICH, PH.D., PD.D.

Professor at New York University

Member of the American Psychological Association, etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

BOSTON

RICHARD G. BADGER

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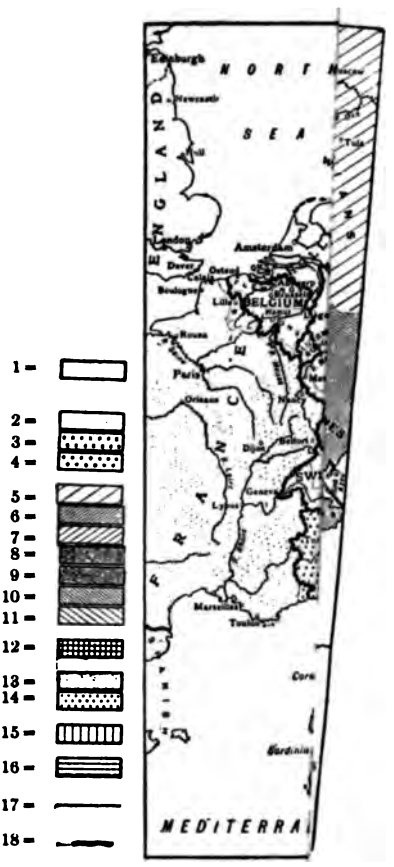

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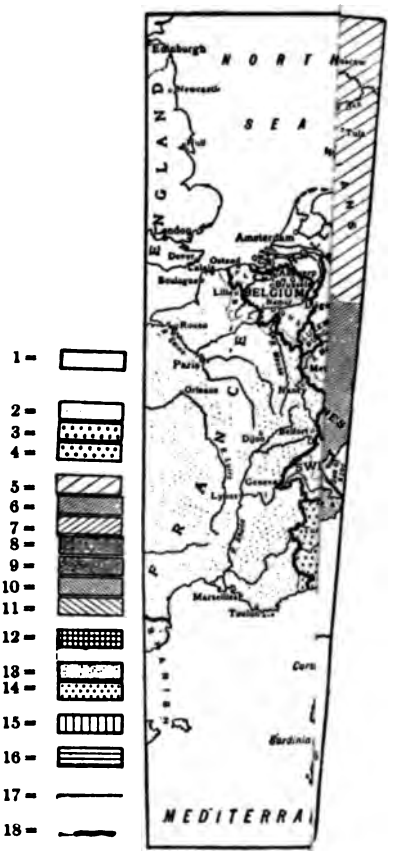

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WHO ARE THE SLAVS?

of time had become obscured and confused by the infusion of foreign elements, and thus degenerated into polytheism, and finally pantheism. Before the Slavs took Christianity they had their own gods just like all other people. The forces and phenomena of nature were personified and worshipped as gods. The Sun and the Lightning accompanied by thunder naturally impressed the primitive people most deeply. According to this Slavic mythological hierarchy we might conclude the earthly relations of gods to men and men to gods. Just as the relation between Zeus or Jupiter and other gods is pictured in the conditions of state chiefs in ancient Greek and Roman accounts, so also the Gromovnik Perun of the Dniester (Russian) Slavs and Svetovid, or Swintevit, supreme god of the Baltic Slavs, personify the main characteristics of the Slavic tribes. Military and agricultural traits of the Slavs are personified in the Supreme God of the Baltic Slavs. Accordingly the horses and arms have been especially dear objects, and the field and agricultural products held a high place in the estimation of the people, particularly in the ceremonies which were devoted to the celebration of Svetovid. From German and Scandinavian sources we learn that the Slavic dwellers of the lower Laba (Elbe) and Odra (Oder) basins worshipped a number of divinities of a military character. Thus Suarasiz (Svarozich) was the god of the Lutitians; Svantovit ("the mighty") was worshipped at Arcona (the capital of Rügen) and Triglav ("the three-headed") at Stettin. These divinities had their statues, temples, and attendants and received a portion of the spoils of battle. The old Russian chroniclers state that the Varangian Russ prince took oath by the gods Perun and Volos. When St. Vladimir "began to reign in Kiev, he put on a hill outside his palace yard the wooden Perun with the silver head and golden mustaches, and Khors, Dazhbog, Stribog, Simargi, and Mokosh, and the people brought them sacrifices." When Vladimir (972-1015),

husband of a Greek princess (his grandmother Olga, the wife of Igor, had already received baptism at Byzantium; so her name is venerated in the Russian calendar), was converted by Greek missionaries, and he, in turn, forcibly imposed his religion on his subjects and the chief of pagan idols, Perun was scourged at Kiev and thrown into the river.

Of the relations of these early gods, it is strangely difficult to gain any real information. It is to be regretted that no one as yet has made a complete study of the vexed question of Slavic mythology. The word *Bog* or *Bogu* (God) is reckoned a loan word from the Iranian "Braga."

The Slavic gods mentioned in the chronicle of a monk Nestor (about 1100 A. D.) included Perjunes or Perun (the Thunder, or the Sky), the chief diety,[1] personifying the lightning and the thunder like the Skandinavian god Thor; Svarog, the heavens, and the earth as the wife of Perun.[2] The god of fire was Dabog or Dai-bog (the god of sun and sunshine, the giver of life and of all good things, the god of prosperity, light and every progress) and Stribog (a hostile deity, god of storms or winds, the Greek Æolus); Mokosh was a Venus, and Simargi the god of ocean, Voles or Volos, "the beast god," may have been a god of cattle (herds) and patron of merchants. In the *Song of Igor's Band* he is said to be the grandfather of *boiany* or bards. Chors or Khors was a Mars. Perun curses those who break their oaths; and weapons and gold are dedicated to him. His images were of wood, with a silver head and golden mustaches. Sacrifices were offered to wooden legs or mounds; and the three great rivers, Dnieper, Don, and Bug, were also represented by images, and adored. Of the other Russian divinities nothing is known with certainty, for the view that they were personifications of natural phenomena is not sufficiently supported by early evidence. It is interesting to note, however, that in an old Russian source Hephaestus is glossed with Svarog and the

fire, moreover, is called Svarozich (i.e., son of Svarog), recalling the Suarasiz of the Lutitian Slavs. This seems to point to the identification of fire and sun worship. With the advent of Christianity the old gods were regarded as devils. The pagan Russians had medicine men (so-called "vlsvi") and cremated their dead.

The personification of wisdom and cunning is Volga Sviatoslovich, who is the son of a princess by a serpent. Sviatogov is the personification of strength—so huge that the earth can scarcely carry him, a character found in the Rustem of the Persian story.

There seem to have been no priests, temples or images among the early Slavs. As there was no priestly caste among the Slav pagans to garner up those religious traditions which have formed the basis of every great school of poetry, there is a lack of recorded tradition. In Russia Vladimir the Great (who towards the close of the tenth century introduced Christianity) set up idols and pulled them down upon his conversion to Christianity. Only the Polab Slavs have a highly developed cult with a temple and statues and a definite priesthood. But this may have been in imitation of Norse or even Christian institutions. The chief god, whose worship seems to have been common to all the Slavic tribes, was called Triglav ("the three-headed"); he was the same as Svetovid, apparently a sky god in whose name the monks naturally recognized Saint Vitus. With Sviatovid were associated on a nearer footing of equality than the other gods, Perun and Radegast—if, indeed, these three names do not merely denote different personifications or manifestations of the same power. In this trinity Svetovid or Sviatovid, is considered as most analogous to Mars and Zeus, Perun to Jupiter and Thor, and Radegast to Mercury and Odin. These personages, like the Titans of the Greek legend, symbolize the struggle of man with the elements of nature. Many Slavic national poems and customs

ndicate a reminiscence of fire worship, such as Slavs of riginal Slavdom conceived the essence of human origin. Fire, the sun, and the mountain-top were pictured as the auldron from which has sprung the great Slav race. Glo-ious the sun was conceived as provider, nourisher, and reator who, daily weaving destiny, climbed the high-hung eavens where mountains did him honor and Time and the esser gods, dwelling in regions of snow, bowed in servile ubjection, recalcitrant acolytes in wondrous love of the un. Of fire, and the counterpart of good and evil, of ight and darkness did the old balladry sing.

Of the numerous gods of an inferior order we may name Prove (god of justice), Priya (Frey), Bjelobog (the white god), Chernobog (the black god), Koleda (god of festivals), Kupala (god of the fruits of the earth), etc. The goddesses of the old Slavs are colorless personifications such as Vesna (spring), and Morana (the goddess of death and winter). On the whole the survival of old rites and ritualistic cus-toms are the most fruitful source of information on early religion. Ancestor worship, e.g., clearly survives in the "dziady" festivals of the white Russians, while various sol-stitial and equinoctial rites point to an early Slavic re-ligion of agricultural magic. The old Slavs also believed in vilas (Serbs [8] have their own Pallas Athena—Vila Raviy-oyla, or mountain nymph), and rusalki, nymphs of stream and woodlands; also in the Baba-Jaga, a kind of man-eating witch (*veshtitza*) and in Besy, evil spirits, as well as in vam-pires, dragons ("halla") and were wolves, together with multitudes of other demons and spirits, good and bad. In addition to their gods, good and evil, demons of different kinds, they believed in the immortality of the soul, but had no very clear ideas as to its fate. It was mostly supposed to go a long journey to a paradise (*raj*) at the end of the world and had to be equipped for this. The dead of the old Slavs were burned, and their ashes preserved in urns. The

old Serbs stuffed wadding into the mouth, nose and ears of the corpse to prevent evil spirits taking possession of the dead body, which would then become what the Magyars call a vampire. Also the soul of the ancestor seems to have developed into the house or hearth god (*Domovoj, Kret*) who guarded the family. The popular belief knows of numerous other sprites ("lesye"), fate and birth divinities (old Russian "rozhanitza," "rodjenitze" and "sudjenitze" of the Serbs), were wolves ("vlkodlatzi" or "vukodlahzi"), etc. Nevertheless, many beliefs and practices have been borrowed from the neighboring peoples, not a few being introduced along with Christianity. To Christian influence are due the burial ceremony ("marzana") of the Poles, most of the Christmas ceremonies and practices of the South-Slavs, belief in devils, witchcraft, relics, etc. The survivals of pagan festivals at the solstices and equinoxes have continued under the form of church festivals. The Serbs, only among the Slavs, have their immemorial national fête called *Slava*, meaning "glorification," when a baptismal rite (*Krsno-ime*) used to be celebrated, and the family god worshipped. The patron saint, Nicholas, John, George, Peter, Paul, Stephen, or Michael, now takes his place. What *Slava* is to a family, that *Zavetina* (from "zavet," a vow) is to a village. Every Serbian village has a saint whom it celebrates as its special patron. It is interesting that Serbian families who have the same saint or who are related by god-fathership do not intermarry.

Worship of the old Slavs was performed in forest groves and temples, cattle and fruits being offered by the priests, whose office must have been originally performed by the head of the family or chieftain, as the common name for priest and prince (*knez* or *knyaz*) shows. The images of the Slavic divinities (a stone statue of Svetovid was in recent times discovered in eastern Galicia) had a striking resemblance to those of India. Svetovid had four heads, Rugevit (the god

sister in the person of the *Ognjena Marija* or Ognyena
ya (Saint Mary of the fire), we may guess that the old
ı had a sister, too, probably Munja (the lightning).
ms that the pagan Serbs had a special flower dedicated
run, as the purple iris is to these days called *perunika*
flower of Perun), without which there is no garden in
erbian villages (probably a part of worship of Perun
sted in the cultivation of perunica). *Sempervivum tecto-*
or the Serbian *Chuvar-kutya* (the house guardian) is
ıer plant which was dedicated to the God of the Pro-
r of houses, and is planted on the house roof and is be-
l to protect it against the lightning strokes. Serbs
ss great love for nature and lovely things. The names
men given in honor of flowers and fruits illustrate do-
c beauty. So, for example, Basilium gives the name
jka; Carnetia, or Karanfil in its Turkish dress, is made
ne, Karanfila, which means stock of flowers. Likewise
some fruits are formed women's names, as for example,
na (blackberry), and Yagoda (strawberry). Men, in
are called Golub (pigeon), Dobrinko (good one), Mi-
(dear one), Srechko (lucky one), etc.

ere was a Serbian goddess *Lada* or *Leda*, probably
oddess of love and pleasure (her name is involved in cer-
Serbian popular lyric songs, coming there as a refrain:
o, oy Lado-le!"). Doda or Dodola is a goddess who
the waters and the rain. Frazer, in his *The Gold-*
ough (London, 1900, 3 volumes; second edition),
s: "In time of drought the Serbians strip a girl
r skin and clothe her from head to foot in grass,

herbs, and flowers, even her face being hidden behind a veil of living green. Thus disguised she is called the Dodola, and goes through the village with a troop of girls. They stop before every house. The Dodola keeps turning herself round and dancing, while the other girls form a ring about her singing one of the Dodola songs, and the housewife pours a pail of water over her. One of the songs they sing runs thus:—

We go through the village;
The clouds go in the sky;
We go faster,
Faster go the clouds;
They have overtaken us,
And wetted the corn and the vine.

On Mid-Summer Eve the herdsmen light torches and march round the sheep-folds and cattle-stalls. Frazer says: "Nowhere in Europe is the old heathen ritual of the Yule log preserved to the present day more perfectly than in Serbia; the children and young people go from home to home singing special songs called Colleda, because of an old pagan divinity, who is invoked in every line. In one of them she is spoken of as a beautiful little maid; in another she is implored to make the cows yield milk abundantly." We hear that: "Even to-day Serbian peasants believe that eclipses of the sun and moon are caused by their becoming the prey of a hungry dragon, who tries to swallow them." Of other superstitions "there is ample abundance in Serbian folk-lore. In fact, in Serbia, as in most other countries, there is still a large task before Knowledge, the fair sister of Freedom, before Tennyson's distant golden dream is realized, till every Soul be free!" Vishnyi or Sve-Vishnyi is used nowadays by the Serbs as an adjective and epithet to God (Sve-Vishnyi Bog, the Most High God), but in all likelihood the name stood once for a supreme divinity, reminding us forcibly of

the Hindu's *Vishnu.*

The inner constitution of the old Serbian Olympus is re-echoed in one of the Serbian popular ballads (*The Saints Partition the Treasures* or *The Saints and the Blessed Maria*), and evidently there was a place where the gods of both sexes met, discussed the terrestial affairs, and brought their own decisions. This ballad is remarkable in more than one point, giving us a picture of the old Serbian Olympus, substituting only for the old gods the Christian saints. It shows a curious remembrance of a great catastrophe in India. The faithful translation of this ballad is as follows:

"The Saints met at the gate of heaven to confer among themselves how to divide the gifts which God gave them. Saint Peter received the keys of the heavens, and together with him St. Paul took (under their power and protection) wine and wheat; St. Elijah took as his own the thunder; 'Mary of the Fire' (*Ognyena Mariya*) took the lightning and the arrows; St. Thomas took the seal of the clouds; Archangel Michael got as his own the weather of the autumn; St. Nicholas the seas and the rivers and the ships sailing on them; St. Saviour was satisfied with the cornflower as his portion; St. Sava took to himself snow and ice; St. Pantheleymon took the scorching heats of the summer; St. John the Baptist took to himself the brotherhoods and 'koomships,' and St. George was satisfied to take for himself the flowers of the spring.—Just then the Blessed Maria—tears running down her white cheeks,—stepped into this assembly of saints. Elijah the Thunderer asked her: 'Our sister, Blessed Maria, what great misfortune hast thou met, that thou sheddest now tears down thy white face?' And the Blessed Maria answered, 'How can I help shedding these tears when I am arriving from the country of India, from India, a cursed country! There an extreme lawlessness is reigning, younger men do not respect the older ones, nor the children obey their parents, and parents tread down

with their heels their children! Koom (=God-father) prosecutes his koom (or kum) before judges, and brings against him false witnesses without faith and without pure souls, and convicts him in heavy damages; a brother provokes his brother to duel; the brother-in-law works to dishonor his sister-in-law, and the brother does not call his sister a sister!'

"Thereupon the Thunderer Elijah consoled their sister, the Blessed Maria, by telling her that they all—after they had finished dividing the treasures God had given them—would go together to the 'true God' to ask His permission to punish that lawless and cursed country, India. The Saints then went together to 'God's Council Hall.' There they prayed for three days and three nights without ceasing, and succeeded in obtaining God's permission to punish the lawless people of India. They began by closing (probably with the keys of which St. Peter was the keeper), all the seven heavens. Then St. Elijah began to strike the sinners with his thunder, while the Blessed Maria began to kill them with lightnings and arrows. But all that hardly made an impression on the people of India. Thereupon St. Archangel sent down bad weather, Peter and Paul took away all the wine and wheat, and therewith all prosperity, and for three years no wine and no wheat grew on earth; St. Thomas sealed the clouds, so that not a drop of rain or of morning dew watered the thirsty earth; St. Pantheleymon let loose the burning heat to scorch the earth for fully three years, so that the brain was boiling in the heads of the people, the rocks were burning and breaking up, and the earth was bursting into deep crevices into which men and horses were disappearing. Then St. Sava let deep snows fall and prevented them melting for three years, so that the shepherds lost all their sheep, and even the bees fled away from that country. But all those terrible scourges did not move the people of India to repentance. Then God sent a terrible

sickness which carried away young and old, and separated those who were dear to each other. Then at last those few who remained alive began to repent and regain faith in God." As it was long ago, so it is nowadays.

"God Adored, may our thanks reach Thee.
What has been, may it never happen again."

It would be, no doubt, worth while to find out how such a legend found its way among the Serbs. It shows at least how the heaven of the Serbian people probably looked before they were converted to Christianity. This ballad is in all probability a remnant of the mythological traces of a great prehistoric catastrophe, and it illustrates more than any other ancient memorial of the poetic Serbian nation, the striking analogy in the beliefs of peoples.

Serbian *vile* (plural of *vila*) are very poetical and sympathetic creatures, for they are eternally young and beautiful fair girls, robed in white gauze, with long golden hair, milk-white complexions and white wings. Vile sing beautifully and like to dance, especially during the moonlight nights. *Vile Brodaritze* live near the streams and fords; *Vile Oblakinye* prefer to live in the clouds. Both of them are not only harmless generally, but they are distinctly patriotic and take a lively interest in national heroes and national affairs of the Serb. In some cases a Vila seems to have taken up the position of a guardian angel, and attached herself to one particular human being. So for instance we read in the Serbian folksongs of the Vila who came to Marko Kraljevich, telling him of his impending death. The speed of the Vila was extraordinary, and many passages in these folk-songs descriptive of her flight rival the lines in Lalla Rookh:

"Rapidly as comets run
To the embraces of the sun:—

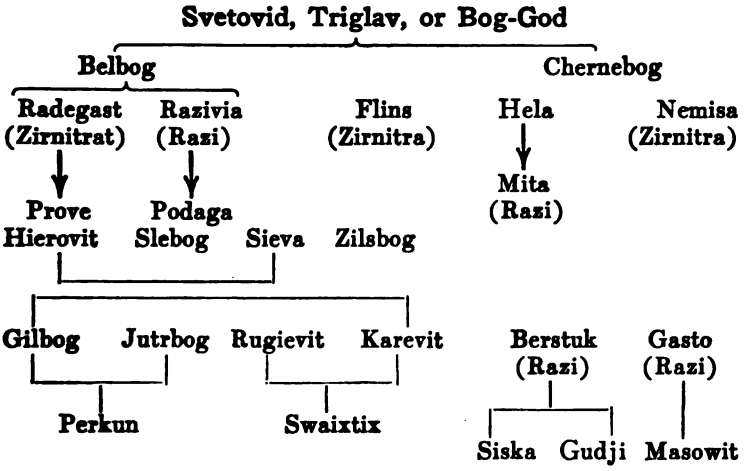
Fleeter than the starry brands
Flung at night from angel hands
At those dark and daring sprites
Who would climb th' empyreal heights."

Serbians as well as other South-Slavs have also their dragon, but it is not represented as the ancient Greeks did, i. e., as a monster in the form of a huge lizard or serpent, with crested head, wings and great strong claws, for they know this outward form is merely used as a misleading mask. The Serbian people paint the true character of a dragon as a handsome youth, possessing superhuman strength and courage, and he is usually represented as in love with some beautiful princess or empress. (This is nicely indicated in the Serbian ballad, "The Tzaritza Militza and Zmay of Yastrebatz.")

Chedo Miyatovich also thinks that according to the outward signs of the religion of the Serbs in their pre-Christian period we are justified in concluding that the old faith was very popular, entering deeply into the life of the people. The Greek and the Roman Catholic propagandas, aggressive and powerful, backed by political and military influences as they were, needed nearly two hundred years to decide the Serbs to abandon their old religion and accept the teachings of Jesus. Even then the Greek and Latin missionaries could succeed only after they had made many concessions to the people's attachment to their old belief. The folk-lore of the Serbians is re-echoing to this day with religious sentiments and rites from their pre-Christian days. Some of the Serbian students of the Serbs (like Professor M. Milovanovich of Belgrade in Serbia) are sorry that the Christian monotheism spoiled the beautiful phantasy or imagination of the Serbians in the formal shaping of the tribal mythology.

To conclude. The main deities of the Slav may be con-

nected with a tree whose root is God—called Bog or Swantowit (Svetovid). All subordinate gods are in pairs, as Belbog and Chernobog (good and evil) and Razi and Zinitra (councillors and magicians), etc. This hierarchical relation may be summarized in the following schematic presentation:



This schematic presentation assumes that the main seat of the old Slavic religions was at Arcona, since Svetovid was there and venerated as the supreme deity; at Kiev and Romova Perun stood first, and at Rhetra-Radegast; but Svetovid was at all events the principal divinity worshipped among all the Western Slavic tribes, and was esteemed as one of the nain gods among the Eastern Slavic tribes as well. The Russians and the Poles residing nearest to Kiev or Novgorod distinguished the gods into four classes, which contrasted with each other, and whose respective members were similarly various in their natures. So for example there were gods of men and of beasts. In the former class were found gods of love and of pain; in the latter, gods of

growth and destruction. The other classes were that of nature and that of inanimate nature—the one including gods of war and of peace; the other, gods of the law and of the water, of the house and of the fild. To these deities of the general populace must be added innumerable private and local gods; especially among the Poles, and Serbs, each tribe, town or institution having its own patron divinity, and each one regarding its own god as superior to others of his class. The most insignificant divinities, such as the lighting of lamps, the cutting of bread, the tapping of a fresh barrel, etc., were under the guidance of the gods. A numerous priesthood conducted the religious rites, which generally took place in front of the temples. The devastating campaign of Henry the Lion (in the twelfth century) destroyed the temples of the Western Slavs and brought the prevalent paganism to an end, though certain superstitious customs have been preserved in the regions of their former occupancy to this day. At any rate the Slavic mythological traits are not inferior to those of other people.[5]

Effect of Christianity

As is well known, the Slavs became Christians after the separation of the Greek (Eastern Orthodox) and Latin (Roman Catholic) churches in 864 A. D., and the bulk of them (Russians, Serbs and Bulgars) adhere to the rites and beliefs of the Greek Eastern Orthodox Church to which church also belong the Greeks, Rumanians, Syrians and Armenians; the rest (Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats) belong to the Roman Catholic Faith.[6] (The first Slavic church still maintains the old calendar, which is now 14 days behind that in use in Western European countries.)

Prince Serge Wolkonsky gives an interesting account of how the Russians took Christianity from Byzantium, introduced by St. Vladimir (980-1054) who has been compared to

Clovis. In his *Pictures of Russian History and Russian Literature* (London, Paul, Trent & Co., 1898, pp. 37-39) he says:

"In 957 Princess Olga, mother of the ruling Prince Sviatoslav (Rurik's grandson) goes to Byzantium to be baptized in the Christian faith; the Emperor himself is her godfather. Her son did not consent to give up the paganism of his forefathers, but her grandson, Prince Vladimir, sent ambassadors to investigate the religions of foreign countries. When they came back, they said to their prince: 'No man would like to eat bitter after having tasted honey, so we cannot think of returning to our gods after having witnessed the divine service of the Greek.' The service which made such a profound impression on Vladimir's ambassadors was the solemn liturgy celebrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople in the presence of the two brother-emperors, Constantine and Basil, under the dome of St. Sophia. Vladimir decided to embrace the Christian religion and to request the Byzantine emperors that they would provide for the baptism of his people. But he did not care to take up the part of a simple solicitor; so he marched with his soldiers against Chersonesos, a Greek colony, on the coast of the present Crimea, intending in case of success to make of the new religion a sort of military contribution. The plan was carried out, Chersonesos was taken, and ambassadors were sent to Constantinople to ask the Emperor's sister Anna in marriage for Prince Vladimir. The change of religion was required as the condition from the Emperor's side, and when Vladimir assented, a Greek bishop came over to Chersonesos. A fine church at a short distance from Sebastopol contains in our days the marble basin wherein the baptizer of Russia was baptized in the Christian faith. When Vladimir returned to Kiev the whole population was gathered into the Dnieper, parted in different groups, every group received a new name, and all were baptized in the Christian faith. This was in

987. When in the next century the dissensions between Constantinople and Rome brought about the great scission of the Christian Church, Russia, as the god-daughter of Byzantium, followed her example and ever since has refused acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy." Hore, in his *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Church* (p. 7), says: "The Conversion of Russia by the Greek Church is the mightiest conquest the Christian Church has made since the time of the Apostles." [7] This Christianity had by the time of Ivan Vasilyevich Third (1462-1505) blossomed forth as the national religion of the Russians, so that we can date the foundation of "Holy Russia" of to-day in all her greatness from the age of Ivan Vasilyevich the Third, who was the first Russian ruler to assume the title of "Tzar of all the Russians." [8] The first Russian Metropolitan was Ilarion (1051-1054), who is the most original writer of his time. He and Kyril Surovski are representative of genuine oratory. In the thirteenth century Daniel the Exile wrote a "Prayer" which was intended to soften the heart of Yaroslav Vsyevoloditch, who imprisoned him on Lake Lache. At a council held at Moscow (1557) at the command of Tzar Ivan the Fourth it was enacted that only revised books were henceforth to be used in the church. As no one in Russia was capable of undertaking the task of redaction, Maxim the Greek (1480-1556) was intrusted with the work.

Of course, the Christianity of the early Russians was not thoroughly assimilated. Miss Isabel Florence Hapgood is right when she says (in her book, *The Epic Songs of Russia*, New York, Scribner, 1886) that "it was not only established as the State religion, but the people, at Vladimir's command, accepted the new faith, permitted their idols to be destroyed and themselves to be baptized by thousands forthwith. Though they had idols representing the powers of Nature which they worshipped, there were neither temples nor priests to interfere with this summary change. But their old be-

liefs could not be so readily set aside, and finding themselves thus provided with two faiths, they solved the difficulty in the most natural manner,—by subjecting their heathen gods to baptism also. Thus, for instance, Perun the Thunderer became Ilya (Elijah) the Prophet, the hero Ilya of Murom of the Songs. This furnishes the key to the cycle of Vladimir, and shows how the epithet 'two-faithed,' often applied to the Russian people by their old writers, was earned."

The eastern Slavs received Christianity from Byzantium through the instrumentality of Cyril and Methodius. Clement (916), one of their first disciples, introduced Christianity and the Slavic liturgy among the Balkan (Byzantine or Southern) Slavs. Bulgars were converted to Christianity by the earliest of Byzantine missionaries, their first Christian Tzar being Boris I, in 1064. It is said that he hesitated in his choice between the Latin and Greek churches, for the former had previously been active among the Slav countries of the Balkans, and the political and religious controversy between East (Byzantium) and West (Rome) had already begun. The Serbs were Christianized in the same century as the Bulgars and Moravians, in the ninth century. According to Constantine Porphyrogenete, the Serbs adopted Christianity at two different periods: (1) during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641 A. D.), who had requested the Pope to send a number of priests to convert those peoples to Christianity. The second conversion of the Serbs who had remained pagans was effected, about 879, by the Emperor Basil the First. The first Archbishop of Serbia was the youngest son of Stephan Nemanya, the first sovereign of the united Serbian province. The name of this prince was Rastko, and his baptismal name is *St. Sava* or St. Sabbes (b. 1176). Under him the Serbian Church had become autonomous, and was raised to the dignity of a Patriarchate. He established nine bishoprics in the Serbian kingdom, encouraged schools and education, and to this day is wor-

shipped among the Serbs of all the Serbian provinces (Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, Bachka, Banat, Baranya, Macedonia) as the Patron Saint of the schools. We may say that St. Sava[9] is the Serbian St. Patrick. When a boy of hardly 17, having heard that his royal parents were looking for a bride for him, Prince Rastko joined some monks and with them went secretly to Mount Athos, which at that time was not only a republic composed entirely of monasteries and monks, but also the highest divinity school of the Eastern Orthodox faith. He there became a monk (Sava), and a few years later he induced his old royal father to abdicate the throne, and to come to finish his days as monk in the *Sveta Gora* (= "Holy Mount"). There they two raised up a Serbian monastery—*Chilendary* (or, as the Serbs prefer to call it—*Vilindar*, "the gift of a fairy"), which practically became the high divinity institution for the Serbian theologians and ecclesiastics, and the metropolis of the Serbian learning and literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. What the ideals of the Serbian people are can be judged from the following lines of a Serbian ballad (translated by Vlad. Savich):

"Counsel held the mighty Christian Princes,
Near the white-walled church of Grachanitza,
Spake they thus, the mighty Christian Princes:
'God, what strange event! what wondrous marvel!
Where have vanished all the vast possessions,
Towers seven filled with gold and silver,
Of the great and wealthy Tzar Nemanya?'
By chance, Nemanyich Sava stood there with them,
Spake thus to the high Christian Princes:
'Speak not words like these, oh noble princes.
Sooth 'twere a sin to speak such words, Sirs
Never did my father spend his treasures
Buying arms and chargers bold for battle,
Buying lances forged of steel and maces.

No, my father spent his vast possessions
Building white abodes for God's high presence.
Where God's hymns be sung through all the ages
Bringing healing to my father's spirit.'
Up then spake the mighty Christian Princes:
'Blessed be thy holy Father's memory,
Blessed be thy soul, Nemanyich Sava.'"

The Western Slavs (Poles and Czecho-Slovaks) and a small number of South-Slavs (Croatians and Slovenes) received Christianity from Rome and Germany. Poland ranks among the European nations after the conversion to Christianity of Mieczyslav the First (962-992), prince of the family of the Piasts. (From about 840 dates the legendary origin of the First Dynasty of Dukes which in the male line ruled over Polish territory till 1370. Ziemovit, the supposed second ruler of the Piast Dynasty, was the first whose history is to any extent to be relied upon; and it was not till a century after, when his descendant Mieczyslav the First occupied the throne and became through marriage to Dabrovka, a Czech Princess, a convert to Christianity, that Poland really came into the field of European history.) The Croatians already belonged to the Roman Church at the time when its priests were converting the Serbs [10] to the Christian faith between 642 and 731, i.e., after the death of Pope John the Fourth and before Leon of Isauria had broken off his relations with Rome.[11] No doubt, the Christian faith spread gradually from the Roman cities to Dalmatia and to the various Slavic lands.[12] However, the Western Slavs unwillingly and with great resistance accepted the Christian faith. Neander in his *Allegemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1825) shows how difficult it was to convert the Lusatian Serbs and Poles to the Christian faith. The attempts of the German missionaries to bring Christianity to the Czechs in the ninth century were not successful. It was, as has been said before, through the Greek Eastern Church

which has been one of its misfortunes.

The Cyrillic alphabet [14] is in constant use to-day in the eastern churches of the Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian churches at the present time. The Bulgarian Tzar Boris was baptized by them, who also introduced the Slav liturgy in Bulgaria.[15] The Slavic dialect spoken between Constantinople and Salonika was adopted as the literary language, and the Glagolithic alphabet and eventually the Cyrillic were introduced—on this foundation rests the whole subsequent intellectual development of Eastern Europe. The Czechs also eagerly received the establishment of a Slavic national church of the Greek eastern rite. A German Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salzburg protested against the extension of this Slavic Eastern rite, but Pope John VIIIth gave (in 880) permission to use the Slavic tongue forever in the mass and the whole liturgy and offices of the Slavic Church, and Methodius was appointed Bishop of Pannonia (Bohemia and Moravia). In 973 Prague was made the seat of a bishop. Unfortunately in 1308 Servius was appointed Bishop of Prague, and he devoted all his energies to abolishing the Slavic rite, and organized the church on the model of the German Roman Catholic Church. In 1075 Pope Gregory VII finally condemned the Slavic liturgy and withdrew it from the Church, declaring that "the use of the vernacular was conceded only on account of temporary circumstances which have passed away." The use of Slavic liturgies within the Glagolitic alphabet, a very ancient privilege of the Roman Catholics in Dalmatia and Croatia, caused much controversy during the first years of the twentieth century.[16] Archbishop of Zadar (or Zara), in discussing the "Glagolitic controversy," had denounced the movement introduced by Panslavism to make it easy for the Catholic clergy, after any great revolution in the Balkan States, to break with Latin Rome. (See *Illyricum Sacrum* written by Farlati, "Episcopi Bosnensis.")

The center of the religious revival of the Slovenes was the little town of Ljubljana (Laibach), where, by a caprice of Napoleon, Francis Nodier became librarian. In Ljubljana the Hapsburgs and the Jesuits burned—in 1616—thousands of volumes written and collected by the school of religious and political reformers who echoed the Czech revolt against Catholicism and Germanism, being deeply influenced by Luther and the German Reform. (See *Pindor, J.*, Die protestanische Literatur der Südslawen in 16. Jahrhundert, in: *Jahrb. f. Gesh. d. protest. Oesterreichs*, vol. 23.)

Many severe quarrels among the Slavs (especially those between the Russians and the Poles, the Serbians and Croatians) are really due to the propaganda of their respective churches, stimulated very skillfully by the Germans, Jesuits and Slavic thinkers. Andrew Modrzewski, a Polish Protestant, recommended, in his work, *De Republica Emendanda* (1551), the establishment of a national Polish church which should be independent of the Roman Pope, something upon the model of the Anglican. Another Pole, Orzechowski, in his curious work called *Quincunx*, is also concerned with religious problems. Stanislaus Orzechowski even dared to address Pope Julius the Third in the following strain:

> Consider, O Julius, and consider it well, with what a man you will have to do; not with an Italian, indeed, but with a Russian (he was a native of Little Russia). Not with one of your mean Popish subjects, but with the citizen of a kingdom where the monarch himself is obliged to obey the law. You may condemn me, if you like, to death, but you will not have done with me; the king will not execute your sentence. The cause will be submitted to the Diet. Your Romans bow their knees before the crowd of your menials; they bear on their necks the degrading yoke of the Roman scribes; but such is not the case with us. Where the law rules, even the throne, the king, our lord, cannot do what he likes; he must do what the law prescribes. He will not say as soon as you shall give him a sign with your finger—'Stanislaus Orzechowski, Pope Julius wishes you to go into exile; therefore go.' I assure you that the king cannot wish that

tions of the one nor the other. Placed as if outside of the times, we have not been charged with the education of the human species. We only live in a very narrow present, without past and without future, amidst a calm . . . flat.

As we are isolated by a strange destiny of the universal movement of humanity we have gained nothing, not even the traditional ideas of the human species. There is with us no intimate development of natural progress; the new ideas brush away the old ones, for the former do not spring from the latter, because they fall to us from I do not know where. The best ideas owing to the lack of links or consequence are sterile dazzling flashes which paralyze in our brains. Isolated as we are in this world, we have in no wise contributed to the progress of the human mind, and all that which has reached us from that progress we have mutilated . . . not a single useful thought has germinated in the sterile soil of our country, not a single great verity has sprung up from our midst. . . . We bear in our blood a principle that is hostile and refractory to civilization. We have been born into the world like illegitimate children. . . . We grow, but we do not ripen. . . . We advance, but sideways, and towards no special goal. . . ."

In other words: Chadayev thinks that up to the present Russia has been no more than a parasite branch of the European tree, which has rotted because it drew its sap from Byzantium, useless to the cause of civilization, a stranger to the great religious structure of Western Middle Ages, and afterwards to the lay enfranchisement of modern society.

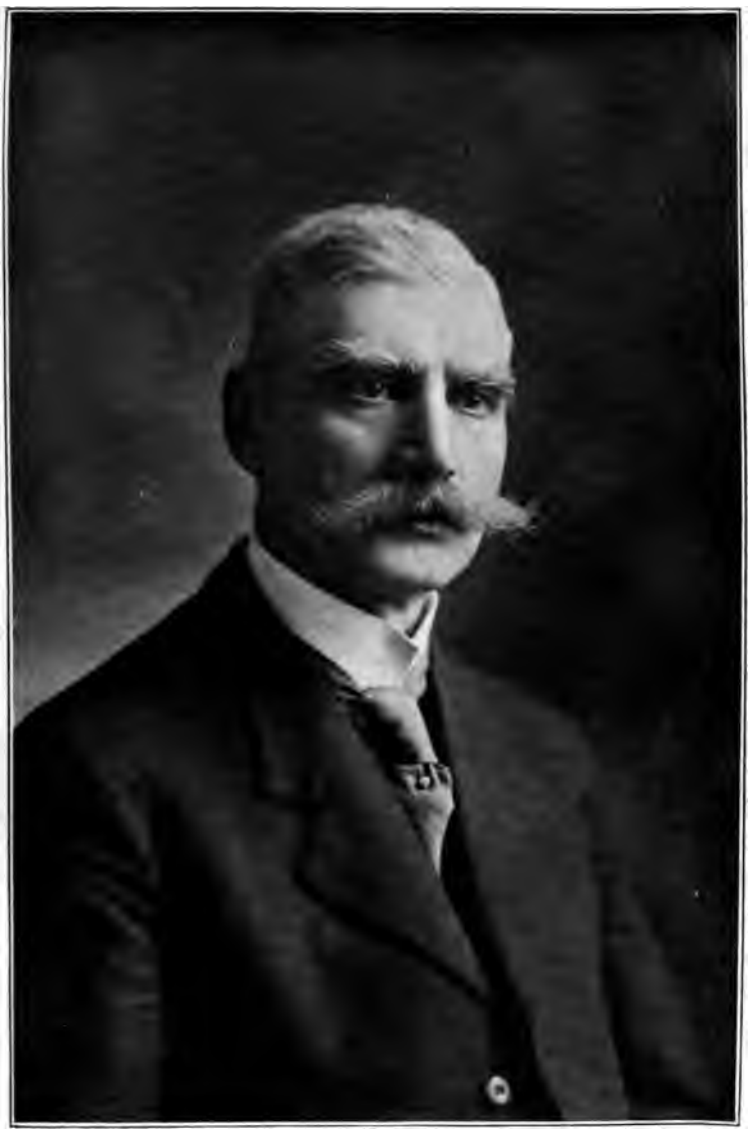
Some prominent Russians went even so far as to pusillanimously renounce all holy Russian traditions and kiss the Pope's toe, becoming Catholics; for example, Princess Volkonsky, who entertained Gogol at Rome, a great nobleman, e. g., Prince Gagarin (afterwards a Jesuit, and editor of the works of Chadayev), Vladimir Solovyev. Solovyev believes like Dostoyevky, in the universality of the historic mission the

performance of which devolves upon Russia, but thinks that to reach its realization through the universal organization of human life on the lines of truth, Russia should carry out Chadayev's theory, and consent to the union of the Graeco-Byzantine and Latin Roman churches. (See: Gagarin's *Russian Clergy*, London, 1872; Prince A. Gallitzin's *L'Église Gréco-Russe*, Paris, 1861; and H. Lutteroth's *Russia and the Jesuits, from 1772 to 1820*, London, 1858; *C. G. v. Murr*, Merkwürdige Nachrichten von den Jesuiten in Weissrussen, Frankfort & Leipzig, 1785.) He believes that the Eastern and Western worlds represent the two highest phases of the development of the human organization—*monism*, in the first fusing together of the three vital principles (feeling, thought, and will) and *atomism*, in the second, following on the other, decomposing these three elements of life into science and art, and stirring them up to conflict. The recomposition and reorganization of these elements into a third and last phase of historic evolution, calls for the intervention of a superior conciliating principle. And this must be the destiny of the Slavic Race.[18]

A Croatian patriot, a personal friend of Vl. Solovyev, Bishop *Juraj Strossmayer* (1815-1905), the famous opponent—at the Vatican Council in 1870—to the *ex cathedra*, infallibility of the Pope [19] tried to make a compromise between two Slavic Churches, suggesting especially a plan for the unification of the Serbian Greek Orthodox and Croatian Roman Catholic Churches into a Slavic Church (knowing that the future of his people could never be realized within the confines of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy). Strossmeyer (a son of the Croatian people) was in constant correspondence with Prince Michael of Serbia, with Michael, Metropolitan of Belgrade, and with Gladstone. He, as the great Croatian Bishop, gave a living example to several other South-Slavic bishops who sided with their clergy in the national struggle. Thus Uccelini, the Catholic Bishop of

Kotor (Cattaro) translated the *Divina Comedia* and dedicated his translation to the Serbo-Croatian nation, and because of his wish to introduce the Slavic language into the liturgy Bishop Dvornik had to fly from his native town of Zadar (Zara, Dalmatia) to Constantinople, where he died. In Zadar, where Bishop Dvornik had lived and worked another priest, Dum Bianchini (his brother Ante, is a leading physician in Chicago, and a leader of the South-Slavs in the United States), preached South-Slavic unification with religious fervor. At present the Prince Archbishop of Carniolia is following the example of the venerated Strossmayer as a leader of the South for union and freedom. Before Strossmayer another Serbo-Croat, *Juraj Krizanich*, the first Pan-Slavist, suggested a wonderful scheme for uniting the churches of the Slavs. He was, however, exiled to Siberia for his schemes of reform and European propaganda in Russia.

The Panslavists defend the Russian Greek-Orthodox Church in this way: "The European world was represented as being composed of two hemispheres—the Eastern, or Græco-Slavic, on the one hand, and the Western, or Roman Catholic and Protestant, on the other. These two hemispheres are distinguished from each other by many fundamental characteristics. In both of them Christianity formed originally the basis of civilization," but in the West it became distorted and gave a false direction to the intellectual development. By placing the logical reason of the learned above the conscience of the whole Church, Roman Catholicism produced Protestantism, which proclaimed the right of private judgment and consequently produced innumerable sects. The dry, logical spirit which was thus fostered created a purely intellectual, one-sided philosophy, which inevitably leads to utter skepticism, by blinding men to those great truths which lie above the sphere of reasoning and logic. The Græco-Slavic world, on the contrary, having



DR. ANTON BIANKINI

Croat; the greatest representative of South-Slavic Movements in America; publicist; physician.

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accepted pure Orthodoxy and true enlightenment, was thus saved alike from Papal tyranny and from Protestant free-thinking. Hence the Eastern Christians have preserved faithfully not only the ancient dogmas, but also the ancient spirit of Christianity—that spirit of pious humility, resignation, and brotherly love, which Christ taught by precept and example. If they have not yet a philosophy, they will create one, and it will far surpass all previous systems, for in the writings of the Greek Fathers are to be found the germs of a broader, a deeper, and a truer philosophy than the dry, meager rationalism of the West—a philosophy founded not on the logical faculty alone, but on the broader basis of human nature as a whole." The ideal of many older Panslavists is "One Church, one Empire," which also was an ideal of Charlemagne, of Otto, of Barbarossa, of Hildebrand, of Thomas of Aquinas, of Dante, etc.[20]

It is a remarkable fact that no Slavic nation which embraced the Roman Church has ever been able to maintain its independence (Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenes). All Slavic states of Greek Orthodox Eastern faith (Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro) have been able up to the present time to retain their independence or to regain it when lost. It is not true that the Slavs are stationary in their religious life. Even many Slavophiles, especially their deepest representative, mystic philosopher, Vladimir Solovyev, who used to dream of the union of the churches under the pope as the spiritual head, the greater synthesis of universal realization is to be found in a rejuvenated Christianity, for in it we have an universalism that is positive, not negative. In his book, *The Crisis of Western Philosophy*, he says: "The realization of the universal synthesis of science, philosophy, and religion must be supreme aim, and last result of the evolution of thought."

It is a fact that the modern era in religious movement was opened by John Hus.[21] The Czech people have continued

to worship their national hero, Hus, who was the great leader of Catholic reformation between John Wiclif or Wycklif and Martin Luther and whose teachings led Bohemia (the Czech land) to political and religious freedom for five centuries. The yearly pilgrimage to Constance, where "he was burned, but not the truth with him," is still made by thousands. Hus precipitated the struggle to return at least to the freedom of the old Slavic Church of the people. Wiclif's teaching coincided with the Slavic religious spirit. Wiclif had, however, not escaped the charge of heresy, and so in 1403 Jan Hus was forbidden by the university authorities to discuss 45 theses which he had derived mostly from Wiclif, and in 1409, when the Pope (Alexander the Fifth) had issued his bull against the teachings of Wiclif and the Archbishop of Prague had burned Wiclif's writings, Hus felt the effect of the opposition he had stirred up on the part of the Catholic hierarchy, the priests, and the monks by denouncing, in imitation of Wiclif, the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church. Hus attacked certain ceremonies: auricular confession, the worship of images, and fasting. In his two books (*The Abomination of Monks*, and *The Members of Antichrist*) the monks and the Pope with his court were the objects of his most violent diatribes. Hus insisted upon the following points of vital importance: (1) the appeal to Scripture as the only infallible authority; (2) the necessity of bringing the clergy back to a life of discipline and purity, whether by depriving them of all interference in temporal affairs, or by taking from them the property of which they made a bad use; (3) the dispensation of spiritual power to the priests by the Holy Spirit, by reason of their inner purity and only in so far as they were qualified to receive it and worthy of it. In 1410 Hus and his followers were put under the ban. Undeterred, Hus kept on preaching as before. In 1411 he openly attacked the Pope, John XXIII, when he offered indulgences to those volunteers who would take arms

against King Ladislaus of Naples in behalf of France. In 1412 Hus gave out an university debate upon the question of indulgences, which only widened the breach between himself and university authorities and the clergy. In 1412 a Papal interdict was issued against him. In reply Hus wrote his book, *On the Church*, appealing from the Pope to a general council and to Christ; and then, feeling no longer safe in Prague, he withdrew to the castles of certain friendly noblemen. When in 1414 the "Articles of Prague" were presented to Rome, demanding that the word of God be freely preached, that the Sacrament or Communion be administered to the people in both kinds and that the clergy possess no property nor temporal power,—a new edict was issued and Jan Hus was summoned before the Council of Constance. Obedient to summons and with a safe conduct to go and *return* given by the Emperor Sigismund, of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Hus arrived at Constance (Nov. 3, 1414), where the General Council of the Roman Catholic Church had been convened. His journey thither was a triumph, and he entered the city in great state. At first he was a free man, but on November 28 he was apprehended on the trumped-up charge of attempting to leave the city, and cast into prison, in spite of the indignant protests of the Czech and Polish nobles. Hus may have fancied that he would have opportunity to defend his views in open debate, but he quickly learned that the Council intended to try him as a "recusant heretic." He was, however, long kept in suspense, for it was not till June 5, 1415, that he was first formally accused. On June 8th, 39 charges were exhibited against Hus, some of which he acknowledged as fairly based upon his teachings, while others he declared to be misrepresentations. Being required to recant his alleged mistakes, Hus refused to do so until they should be proved to be mistakes. On June 18th the articles of his condemnation were prepared. On June 24th his books were burned; on June 31st his attempts to come to an under-

for the Czechs; namely, follow
King Wenceslaus of Bohemia,
people rose in rebellion in wl
wars.[23] These struggles again
the Holy Roman Empire lasted
1436, when Sigismund granted
dom and a year earlier Pope
mands of the "Articles of Pra
sporadically until 1485, when t
the confirmation by Emperor
1436.

But the triumph of the Cathol
battle of the Bilohora (the White
—in 1620—gave a fatal blow to
left Bohemia at the mercy of tl
First (1619-1637), who inflicted
enemies, and in 1627 declared Bol
hereditary kingdom of the Hap
fewer than 30,000 families are s
and the population which was e
reduced to 800,000. The best
went into exile. The leading me
ecuted, exiled, or imprisoned; tl
abolished, and the

books they could find; and this destruction did not
ntil the close of the eighteenth century. Among the
emigrants who continued to write in their foreign
Jan Amos Komensky surpassed all others. When
at persecution of the Protestants broke out he fled
nd, and in exile, like his countryman, Karl Zerotin,
36, he published several several pedagogical, philo-
l and philological works in Latin and in Czech, dis-
ed for the classical perfection of their style. Co-
was the last bishop of the Moravian Church.[25] Co-
strongly influenced Schleiermacher's *Discourses on*
n (1797) in laying stress on inward feeling and the
f personal dependence on God. (He wrote three im-
t books: 1. *Ecclesiae Slavonicae historiola*, Amster-
360; 2. *Historia fratrum*, edited by Buddeus; 3. *Mar-*
m Bohemicum oder die böhmische Verfolgungsge-
e, 894-1632, Berlin, 1766.)
teachings of the martyrdom of Jan Hus, the valor
l of his Czech brother, Count Zizka, appeared to have
vain. Yet they were not so, for the seeds of liberal
t had been sown far and wide during the struggle,
the century to come they would grow into a great re-
Reformation, a permanent triumph of freedom of hu-
ought. The spirit of Hus spread far beyond, being
p by Luther and leading to the breaking of the power
nediæval Catholic Church. In the main it was the doc-
f Wycklife transplanted to Bohemia and Moravia by
at in the preaching and writing of Luther effected the
ant Reform. Luther appeared before the Diet of
with the example of Hus in his mind. His friends
him, but Luther said as he entered Worms: "*Hus*
rned, but not the truth with him." Yes, Luther was
successor of Jan Hus, and completed his work—the
s finished what the Slavs had begun. Only a few facts:
ruary, 1529, Luther, after having considered the mat-

ter with Melanchthon, wrote to Spalatin: *Ego impudens omnia Johannis Hus et docui et tenui, breviter sumus omnes Husitae ignorantes.* Schwarze writes about the same: "I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of Hus without knowing it. With like unconsciousness has Staupitz taught them. We are all of us Hussites without knowing it" (Schwarze, *John Huss, p.* 93). This translation is, however, wrong. Professor Schaff translates it correctly as follows: "Shamelessly I both taught and held all the teachings of Huss, in short, we are all Hussites without knowing it." Luther wrote to Melanchthon on June 27, 1530: "John Huss and many others waged harder battles than we do. If our cause is great, its author and champion is great also." H. St. Chamberlain admits that the Slavs began to fight for the Reformation more than two hundred years before Martin Luther. He says in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1, pp. 515-517): "Even a hundred years before the birth of Luther every third man in England was an anti-Papist, and Wyclif's translation of the Bible was known throughout the whole land. Bohemia did not lag behind; already in the thirteenth century the New Testament was read in the Czech language, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century Hus edited the complete Bible in the language of the people. But the most quickening influence was that of Wyclif, he was the first to open the eyes of the Slavs to evangelic truth, so that Hieronymus of Prague could say of him: 'Hitherto we have had only the shell, Wyclif has revealed the kernel.' We get an altogether false idea of the Slavic reformation if we direct attention principally to Hus and Husite wars; the predominance of political combinations, as well as of the enmity between Czechs and Germans from that time forth confused men's minds and obscured the pure object of their endeavor which at first had been so clear. Even a hundred years before Hus lived Milich, who, though an orthodox Catholic and

JAN ŽIŽKA

Czech; the greatest Slavic soldier who fought most heroically for the cause of Jan Hus and his followers.

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disinclined by his interest in practical ministry to all speculation concerning dogma, invented the expression Antichrist for the Roman Church; in the prison at Rome he wrote his treatise, *De Antichristo*, in which he shows that the Antichrist will not come in the future, but is already here, he is heaping up 'clerical' riches, buying prebends and selling sacraments. Mathias von Janov then expands this thought and thus paves the way for the real theological Reformation; he certainly champions the one sacred Church, but it must be thoroughly purified and built up anew: 'It remains for us now only to wish that the Reformation may be made possible by the destruction of the Antichrist, let us raise our heads, for salvation is already near at hand!' (1389). He is followed by Stanislaus von Znaim, who defends before the University of Prague the forty-five theses of Wyclif; Hus, who makes a clear distinction between the 'Apostolic' and the 'Papal' and declares that he will obey the former, but the latter only in as far as it agrees with the Apostolic; Nikolaus von Welenowich, who denies the position of the priests as privileged intercessors with God; Hieronymus, that splendid knight and martyr, who moved even the indifferent Papal secretary Poggio, who was more interested in Hellenic literature than in Christianity and chiefly known as a collector and editor of obscene anecdotes, to utter the words, 'O what a man, worthy of immortal fame!' And many others. Clearly we have not the achievement of a single, perhaps erratic mind in all this; on the contrary it is the soul of a nation—at least everything that was genuine and noble in that people—that expresses itself. It is well known what fate overcame this noble section, how it was wiped off the face of the earth. The Pope and the Roman bishops had bribed the army of international mercenaries, and from them received its death-blow at the White Mountain. Nor is it a question of a Czech idiosyncrasy; the other Catholic Slavs adopted exactly the same attitude. Thus, for example, the hymns of

Wyclif were printed in the first Polish printing-press; Poland sent to the Council of Trent bishops whose sympathies were so distinctly Protestant that the Pope accused them before the king of being rabid heretics. But the Polish Parliament was not intimidated, it demanded from the King a complete reorganization of the Polish Church upon the basis of the Holy Scriptures. At the same time it demanded—*mirabile dictu!*—the 'equal rights of all sects.' The nobility of Poland and all the intellectual aristocracy were Protestant. But the Jesuits profited by the political confusion, which soon arose, to gain a firm footing in the land, and they were supported by France and Austria; the process was not 'bloody and speedy,' as Canisius had demanded, but the Protestants were nevertheless persecuted more and more cruelly and finally banished; with the downfall of its religion the Polish nation also fell."

Chamberlain refers to a book of Count Valerian S. Krasinski (*Geschichte der Ursprungs, Fortschritts und Verfalls der Reformation in Polen*, Leipzig, 1841)[26] where "is to be found so complete, abundant, convincing and perfectly treated materials as in Poland, to see how religious intolerance and especially the influence of the Jesuits completely ruined a land which was advancing towards a brilliant future in every intellectual and industrial sphere. We can best see the attitude of the Poles to Rome before the time of Luther in the speech delivered by Johann Ostrorog in the assembly of the States in the year 1459, in which he said, 'We cannot object to the recommending of this island as a Catholic one to the protection of the Pope, but it is unbecoming to promise him unbounded obedience. The King of Poland is subject to no one, and only God is over him; he is not the vassal of Rome. . . . etc., etc.; then he inveighs against the shameless simony of the Papal stool, the sale of indulgences, the greed of the priests and monks, etc. This whole Polish movement is like the Bohemian, distinguished by a fresh breath of independ-

ence and national feeling and at the same time indifference to and depreciation of dogmatic questions (the Poles never were Utraquists)." (See also: *Ch. E. Edwards*, Protestantism in Poland, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1901; *Fischer*, Reformation in Poland, London, 1896.)[27]

Among the coadjutors of Hus was Jerome of Prague, a professor in the same university where Hus was dean of the faculty, who in his erudition and eloquence surpassed his friend, Hus, whose doctrinal views he adopted, but he had not the mildness of disposition nor the moderation of conduct which distinguished Jan Hus. He wrote several works for the instruction of the Czech people, and translated some of the writings of Wicklif into the Czech. On hearing of the dangerous position of his friend Hus he hastened to Constance to assist and support him. He, too, was arrested, and even terrified into temporary submission; but at the next audience of the council he reaffirmed his faith, and declared solemnly that of all his sins he repented of none more than his apostasy from the doctrines he had maintained. In consequence of this avowal he was condemned to the same fate as his friend Hus, suffering at the stake, May 30, 1416. "Bring thy torch hither; do thine office before my face; had I feared death I might have avoided it." These brave words were addressed to the executioner who was about to kindle the fire behind him. (Some give his last words thus: "This soul in flames I offer, Christ, to thee.") These two illustrious martyrs were, with the exceptions of Wiclif, the first advocates of truth a century before the Reformation. Since then, in no language has the Bible been read with more zeal and devotion than in the Czech. The long contest for freedom of conscience which desolated the country until the extinction of the nation is one of the great tragedies of human history. It is rightly said that Catholicism is not a Slav national religion, and can never become a part of the soul of the Slav. Only the Catholic Church knows

the *jus divinum* which ought to be the source and influx of every *jus profanum*, and the Slavic Christianity was infected by the fanaticism of the Roman Catholic Church, becoming synonymous with militancy and the spirit of the *condottieri*.[28]

Anti-Churchism

Churchism or mere clerical religion never appealed to the Slav. That the religious spirit of Hus is not dead even to-day is shown by his followers beginning from the Bohemian or Moravian Brethren and the South-Slavic Bogumili up to Tolstoy and his followers, who formed many religious organizations,—numbering, at least, over 20 millions of members[29] —which bear the following strange names: *Raskolniks* (Schismatics, Old Rituals or Old Believers), *Pashkovits*, *Pomoriane* (Sea-Dwellers), *Fedoseievsky* and *Filipovtsky*, *the Bieguni*, *Straniki*, *Moltchalniki*, *Shakuni*, *Molokane*, *Shaloputini*, *Dukhobortsy*, *Khlysty*, *Skopani*, *Martinists*, *Moreshiki*, *Netovtchins*, *Niconians*, *Roshobshiki*, *Stigolniks*, *Yedinovertzy* (Coreligionists), *Blagosloveni* (the Blessed), *Malovantzi*, *Peremeyanovtchini*, *Deniers*, *Vagrants*, *Bogumili*, *Stundists*, *the Nazareni*, *Free Faith* (or Readers), *White Doves*, *the New Israel*, *Non-prayers*, *Kayuki*, *Tolstovsy* (followers of Count L. Tolstoy), *Prophets*, *Johnites*, *mystics* and *rationalists*, *wrestlers with the spirit* and *mortifiers* of the flesh, *Bezpopovshtina*, *Sighers* ("Vozdykhantsy"; a late sect), *Self-cremators* ("Samosojigateli"), *Skits* (eremetic colonies or settlements of Schismatics), *Samoboghi* ("Self-Gods"), *Computers* ("Tchislenniki"; an eccentric sect of late days), *Spiritual Brethren*, *Nameless*, *Sabatniki*, *Theodosians*, *Iskali Khrista* (Christ-seekers), *Diaconshchini*, *Efefanoftchini*, *Tchernoltzi* (Wjetkaers), *Pastuchkol* (Adamantovci), *Spasova* (Kuzminchini), *Detubeichini* (Infanticides), *Bezslovestni* (the Dumb), *Ka-*

rabliki Izbraniki (Company of the Elect), etc.[80] Strange doctrines some of them are known to have, the tenets of most of them are obscure, but persecution has been the lot of all. Even those essentially orthodox in doctrine but opposed to episcopal church government, were treated harshly until the reign of Tzar Alexander the Second (1855-1881), who decreed that dissenting priests must be ordained by priests of the established church.

I think a brief description of these sects will help us to get a slight insight into the religious mind of these strange people. A special attention will be given to the teaching of Count Tolstoy's followers.

The Bohemian or Moravian Brethren (Unitas Fratrum)

The Bohemian or Moravian Brethren[81] ("Bohemian Brotherhood" or "Unity of the Brethren," the National Church of Bohemia, 1420-1620) are so well known to the English-speaking public that it is not necessary to say more than to state the fact that they are faithful followers of Jan Hus. It was founded by the more peaceful element among the war-like Hussite party. The leaders of this movement were firm believers in constructive pacifism. Abhorring war and all strife they retired from the turmoils of the world, and protested against warfare, against training of soldiers in the arts of war and destruction. They were against the destruction of human life, declared it unchristian, against the law of God, and believed that *all men are brethren and should love each other.* They repudiated war, and preached the gospel and settlement of grievances in peaceful ways without armed force. Nevertheless this church was persecuted most violently, chiefly by Emperor Ferdinand the Second. The members of this wonderful denomination went into voluntary exile, went to Saxony, Prussia, Holland, and America. They developed into the Moravian

Church, and influenced by their teaching John Wesley (the founder of Methodism), whose ideals do not differ very much from those of Chelcicky, the Czech dreamer of a *religion of Fraternity.* (In England the parliament exempted the members of this denomination from military service.) (See also: *W. G. Mallin,* Catalogue of Books relating to or illustrating the History of the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren now generally known as the Moravian Church, Philadelphia, 1881; *J. Müller,* Die deutsche Katechismen der böhmischer Brüder, Berlin, 1887; *B. Seifferth,* Church Constitution of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren: The Original Latin with a Translation, London, 1866; *J. Zahn,* Die geistliche Lieder der Brüder in Böhmen, Mähren und Polen, Nürnberg, 1875; *C. A. G. v. Zezschwitz,* Die Katechismen der der Waldenser und böhmischer Brüder, Erlangen, 1863. For Church order see: Ratio disciplinae ordinisqua ecclesiastici in unitate fratrum Bohemorum, Leszno, 1632, Amsterdam, 1666; Halle, 1732.) The following data show a few main points in the struggle of the Czech Church. In 1500, the Pope Alexander VIth, Borgia, sends inquisitors to cope with the Bohemian Brothers, who deny the Real Presence and refuse oaths, and who exercise commanding influence, in part owing to the preaching of Lukas of Prague. In 1522 the Bohemian Catechism is published, probably by Lukas of Prague, who is strongly influenced by a visit to the Waldensians. In 1535 the First Bohemian Confession, probably by John Augusta, is composed and sent to King Ferdinand and to Dr. Martin Luther. In 1522 a few Bohemian Brethren enter Russia, but neither Protestantism nor Rome, where the Jesuit Possevin is sent to champion, gives any foothold. In 1564, owing to the concession by the Pope Pius IV (Medici) of the cup to the laity, Utraquists became merged in the Catholic Church. At the same time the Bohemian Brothers, under the leadership of Blahoslav, obtain toleration from the Emperor Maximilian II. In 1568, Blagoslav translates the Bible, adds

nmentaries, and composes hymns, his writings exercising ›rofound influence over the Bohemian Brethren. In 1575, : Second Bohemian Confession, based on the Augsburg and : First Czech Confession, is drawn up by Lutherans, Calists, Utraquists and Bohemian Brethren. In 1602, the ıperor Rudolf IInd revives the edicts of persecution ainst Protestants. In 1647, the colloquy of Thorn, from ich Unitarians are excluded, discusses reunion, and attended by the Lutherans, Calixtus, Calov, by the Morian, Jan Amos Comenius, and by Catholics, but serves y to widen the gulf. In 1722, Count N. L. Zinzendorf 700-1760) collects the remnants of the Bohemian Broth- and forms the Moravian Brotherhood at Herenhut. In 54, Spangenberg reforms the constitution of the Morans, and suppresses the "extravagance" of the brotherod.

The South-Slavic Bogumili

The South-Slavic Bogumili ("Friends of God", or "the oved or the dear ones to God"; Bog = Lord, God; mili dear) among the South Slavs of the fourteenth century ieir work of enlightenment spread from Bulgaria over : whole of the Slavic South) stick to a form of teaching ied to the movement among the Albigeneses in the twelfth ıtury, the first Protestant movement on the European ritory. They are also known as *Pavlikani* or *Paulicians*, :ause they resemble Paulicians and Kathari. The Boguli or Bogumiles are also called *New Manicheans*. In : beginning of the twelfth century, a priest by me Bogumil began to preach (in Bulgaria) against the ablished State Church, condemning openly the conduct the bishops, priests and monks. They were averse to all ages, even to the cross. They suffered persecution from exius Commenus, who put to death their leader, Basilius, d they were condemned by a synod of Constantinople in

1140. But it is a fact that even their bitterest enemies acknowledged that they lived pure and virtuous lives, that they were truth-loving and moral people. Professor Tucich says this about them: "The Bogumili were strongly opposed to the poetic glorification of the Crusades, because they grasped the fact that the extolling of such an ideal can never open the mind to *heretic* culture—the culture based on *free choice according to conscience*—which was eventually to undermine the foundations of sacrosanct Roman Empire and lay the first solid foundations of *true* culture. Bogumili taught that true culture is not spread by crusades, but springs from Christian, human contemplation. They deprecated personal worship, and replaced it by a worship of ideals, of spirit, and of thought. Wyclif, Hus and Luther are always quoted as the foremost apostles of the *heretical* culture. But in the Hungarian Crusades the Bogumili found bitter enemies. Bogumilist activity in Bosnia and Croatia was stifled in blood, and the people, who were beginning to protest against the lying cult of Cæsarism wedded to Papistry, were simply butchered in the name of the Cross. The blood-baths on the fields of Bosnia filled the people with consternation, but could not stifle Bogumilism. True its progress was checked in the Southern Slav region, but it secretly penetrated westward, whence the Patarenes in Italy and the Catharists, Albigeneses and Waldenses in France spread it all over the world. It is interesting to note that at the very moment when Bogumilist culture was destroyed among the Slavs themselves, they bequeathed this very Bogumilism to the rest of Europe—the first and only gift from the Southern Slav race *as a whole* to the spiritual life of Europe. It was the true "antemurale Christianitatis"—the outworks of Christianity—purified from Byzantine and Roman elements. What they gave was perhaps not so much their own as the *vigor* with which they translated the ideal and the doctrine of a spiritual life, from the mountains of Asia Minor

to the West. Theirs was the work of emissaries and outposts."[82] H. S. Chamberlain, in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (vol. I, p. 511), says this about the Serbian Bogumili in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

"Very characteristic is the attitude . . . of those genuine, still almost pure, Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At an earlier period the influential part of the nation adopted the doctrines of Bogumil (allied to those of Catharists or Patarenes); that is, they rejected everything Jewish in Christianity and retained besides the New Testament only the Prophets and the Psalms, they recognized no sacraments and above all no priesthood. Though increasingly opposed and crushed from two sides simultaneously by the orthodox Serbians and the Hungarians who obeyed every sign of the Roman Pope—though they were thus the bloody victims of a double and continuous crusade—this little people nevertheless clung to its faith for centuries; the graves of the heroic followers of Bogumil still adorn the peaks of the hills, to which the corpses were borne to avoid the danger of desecration. It was the Mohammedans who, by forcible conversion, first did away with this sect."

Three South-Slavic sons were merely Bogumili in heart, nothing more—Marco Marulich (1450-1524), a highly educated and intensely religious Serbian nobleman of Spalato, whose works were translated from the Latin into all the principal European languages; Flavius Illyricum (a Slav by birth), whom, after Martin Luther, the Germans consider one of their greatest teachers; and John of Raguso, who led the whole Council of Basel (or Bale) against the Pope and proposed to negotiate calmly and justly with the Husites and Manichees.

The basis of the Bogumil creed was as follows:

Out of the eternal divine essence or being sprang two principles—Satanel and Logos; the former, at first good, afterwards rebelled, and created in opposition to the original spir-

itual universe a world of matter and human beings. These human beings, however, received from the Supreme Father a life-spirit; but this was kept in slavery by Satanel until the Logos or Christ came down from heaven, and assuming a phantom body, broke the power of the evil spirit, who was henceforth called only Satan.

The Bogumiles, like all similar sects, practiced a severe ascetism, despised images, and rejected sacraments. Unlike the Paulinists, they rejected water baptism, and allowed only the baptism of Christ as a spiritual baptism called *exhortation*. Instead of baptism, they placed their hands and an apocryphal gospel of St. John on the head of the neophyte, singing at the same time the Lord's Prayer, which they repeated seven times during the day, and five times during the night. They accepted the whole of the New Testament but of the Old Testament only the Psalms and Prophets, which they interpreted allegorically.

In 1118, that vehement hater of heretics, Alexius Commenus, burned their leader, Basilius. (In *Euthymius*, Panophia, Tit. 23, Narratio de Bogomilis, we read that the Princess Anna Connsie will not describe the tenets of the Bogumiles lest she should "pollute her lips.") At the end of the twelfth century, Stephan Nemanya, king of Serbia, persecutes the Bogumils and expelled them from the country. Large numbers took refuge in Bosnia, where they were known under the name of Patarenes ("Patareni"). The Hungarians undertook many crusades against the heretics in Bosnia, but toward the close of the fifteenth century the conquest of that country by the Turks put an end to their persecution. At the time of the Mohammedan conquest of Bosnia (sixteenth century), we find that the greatest number of the regenade Christians who embraced the religion of conquerors belonged to this sect. Few or no remnants of Bogumili have survived in Bosnia. A Bogumil ritual in Slavic written by the Bosnian Radoslavov, and published in

vol. XVth of the *Starine* of the South-Slavic Academy at Zagreb (Agram, Croatia), shows great resemblance to the Canthar ritual published by Cunitz in 1853. [See Fr. Rachki's article on *Bogumili* and *Patareni* in the *Rad* (Work) of the South-Slavic Academy at Zagreb, vols. VII, VIII, X, 1870; also: Karapet Ter-Urkrtschian, *Die Paulikaner in byzantischen Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1893; A. Lombard, *Pauliciens, Bulgares et Bons-Hommes en Orient et Occident*, Genève, 1879.]

The Serbian Nazareni

The Serbian *Nazarenes* ("Nazareni") form a Christian sect, originated about the middle of the last century, in the "Serbian Voyvodina" (Southern Hungary and Srem, a district of Slavonia) and spread rapidly among the Serbs of that country and less rapidly among the people of the kingdom of Serbia. They are absolutely honest and truth-loving. They have several points of resemblance to the old *bosanska vera* (Bogumili): they have no churches and no priests, repudiate the worship of the Madonna and the Saints as idolatry, consider it as the greatest sin to kill a man, and, therefore, refuse to bear arms and serve in the army. Mr. Chedo Miyatovich says that in Serbia some of them have been condemned to twenty years' imprisonment for having refused to comply with the lawful duty of every citizen to serve in the Army, but they have cheerfully undergone that heavy sentence for conscience's sake, never murmuring a word of protest.

The Russian Shalaputni

The *Russian Shalaputni* or the *Extravagants* are preaching and practicing a communistic gospel like Tolstoy. Within a score of years they won over all the common people, all the rustic class, of the south and south-west of Russia.

Judicious observers, well-informed economists, foresee the complete and immediate spread of the doctrine in the lower classes through Russia. In 1882 Abramov published a very curious study of this sect in the *Annals of the Country.* Turgenyev was greatly struck by it, and said: "There is the peasant getting up steam; before long he will make a general up-turning."

The Russian Molokani

The Russian Milk-drinkers or Molokani are considered harmless by the Russian Orthodox Church. They call themselves the people of Christ. Their creed allows no ceremonies; there is no Eucharist. The feast days which they observe are the Sundays, and the days peculiarly associated with the Lord's name, such as Nativity, the Passion, and the Ascension. They look upon all saints, including the Apostles, as simply good men. They are in fact, Bible Christians, taking all their dogma from the New Testament. Most of them live away in the Caucasus, where they are a strong and prosperous body. Their Bible is the New Testament in Russian and also in Old Church Slavic tongue; it is the same as that used in the Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

Wallace, in his well-known book on Russia, speaks especially of the Moravians and of the Russian *Molokans* ("milk-drinkers," a branch of Dukhoborts) in Russia who are stubborn "quakers of the steppes," preaching communism, and distributing their goods, like Popov, among the poor; they have often been exiled for their faith to Siberia. (See also: T. Pech, *Die Molokane,* Historisches Taschenbuch, 5 ser. VIII, p. 203, Leipzig, 1878.) They tried to combine with the evangelical Christianity, accepting some of the injunctions of the Old Testament (such as the prohibition of eating pork and fishes without scales, and to celebrate the

Saturday instead of the Sunday). They are said to be named *Molokani* or Milk-drinkers because of their habit of taking milk and food preserved from milk on the fast days when it is prohibited by the Russian Orthodox Church; but more probably so called after the name Molochnaya, a river in the south of Russia, in the neighborhood of which they once flourished. They can be compared with the Presbyterians. They ascribe origin of their movement to the visit of an English physician to Moscow in the reign of Ivan the Terrible who introduced the reading and study of the Bible. They call themselves "True Christians."

The Russian Stundists

The Russian *Stundist* is a rationalistic sect of Protestant origin. It is numerically and intellectually of greatest significance. It has its beginning in the south-east of Russia (1858), in the neighborhood of German colonies, near Odessa, where the religious fervor of the *Nazaraens* and *Jumpers* (Shakers or Shakuny) found their expression in home-meetings, known as *Stunde* (hour). They approximate to Lutheran doctrine and reject ceremonial form of any sect. They have itinerant priests, who much resemble in their teaching George Fox, the founder of the English Quakers in the seventeenth century. This earnest evangelic sect was founded by German Protestants in Russia, about 1855-1865. The first preacher was a poor Russian of Osnova, Michael Ratuzny or Rotushny, called Ouishtashenko, who was converted from an evil life by hearing the Gospel read. He became a shoemaker, and learned to read himself. In 1877 "the famous Sutaev" established the sect, which now numbers several millions. They have gradually simplified their creed, and their religion now consists in practical goodness of life, with reading of the New Testament and prayer, as far as constant prosecution permits. From the day of conversion

till death the Stundist sinks his individuality in that of humanity generally, believing in the brotherhood of man. The Stundist thinks that Christ is still wandering among millions of planets, teaching by word and example. Discord is the root of all sins, and he who follows the law of love finds life full of charm, while death has for him no terrors. He does not merely distribute his money and goods: he will mow hay for the prisoner or the sick, reap his corn, repair his hut, and care for his children. Crime is almost unknown among them, and yet he always says: "It is not I who work, but God within me: we must live for others and die to self." The Stundists are persecuted and banished (in 1893) by the Russian government. (See: H. Dalton, *Der Stundismus in Russland*, Güttersloh, 1896; A. Roschdastvenskij, *Der südrussische Stundismus*, St. Petersburg, 1889.)

The Russian Raskolniks

The oldest and most powerful sect is that of the Russian *Raskolniks* (the Russian word *raskól* means "division" or "schism"), *Dissenters*, Separatists or as they prefer to call themselves, *Men of the Old Faith* (*Staro-viery*), *Old Believers* or Old Ritualists, *Starobriadzy*, who even claim descent from the Slavic Apostles, Cyril and Methodius, and will not allow either Greek or Latin words to sully their Slav liturgy. They are intensely conservative, but only one Greek bishop was faithful to the sect in early days, and they have thus come to deny the Apostolic succession of all bishops. In 1652, Nicon becomes Patriarch, and, secure in the support of the Tzar Alexis, introduces many small changes in the Russian church, allowing western music and art, reviving preaching and revising the Bible. Then the Raskolniks leave the church, owing to this liturgical change. Only in 1883 they are allowed to hold office in the Russian government. They are convinced that the essence of religion was

not in temples and vessels, but in acts. They hold the world generally to be in the power of Satan; and extremists think anything that rescues a soul from the devil to be allowed, even the killing of a new-born babe, which is thus saved from pollution. Others thought it right to hasten the death of sick relations—an Eskimo idea—and whole families have burned themselves, inside carefully-made barricades, following the legend of the pious Allehuia, who thrust her infant into the fire in obedience to a supposed divine command. A peasant in 1870 killed his son, whom he had bound to an altar, in imitation of Abraham. Avakhum Petrovich, an ardent preacher of the doctrines of this sect, was burned alive—in 1681—for his persistent heretical propaganda.[33] Melnikov's studies of the life of the Raskolniks gave a true conception of them.

Old Believers reunited to the Established Orthodox Church of Russia are called *Yedinoviêrtsy*.

The Russian Vagrants

The belief in the reign of Antichrist produced the Russian *vagrants* (*Bieguni*, *Straniki* or "Runners," "Deserters," "Tramps," "Wanderers," "Pilgrims," "Fugitives"), who —obeying the Gospel behests—have left houses and lands, and wander in the villages. They refused to have any fixed abode in this world of Antichrist. They were pilgrims and strangers, constantly running from place to place. They have no chapels, but adore images (*ikons*) hung on trees in the forests. Some will not drink water that has been polluted by the presence of man.

The Russian Molchalniki

The Russian *Molchalniki* (the "Silent") or Bezslovestni (the Dumb) in Bessarabia, on the lower Volga, and in Siberia, will not communicate with the wicked world by either word

or sign. They refused to speak, even under torture. In that sense they may be compared with the Roman Catholic order of *Trappists.*

The Russian Deniers

The Russian *Deniers* ("Netovtzi," "Nyetovchichini" or "Netovstchini") say that since the early days of the patriarch Nikon, who attempted to reform the Greek Church, nothing sacred remains on earth. They seek refuge in mystic intercourse with Christ.

The Russian Shakuny or Shakers

The Russian Shakuny, Skakuni or Dancers ("Pliassuny"—a branch—sect of the Khlysty) are Shakers, or Jumpers, appearing first under the Tzar Alexander the First. They meet at night for cononesive dances and are suspected of licentiousness and vile cruelty. The exact relation of this sect to Khlysty is problematical. Some claim that "The Mad Monk Iliodor" (N. Y., Century Co., 1918) belonged to this sect.

The Russian Dukhobortzi or Spirit Wrestlers

The Russian Dukhobortzi or Spirit Wrestlers are characterized by Aylmer Maude (in his *A peculiar people: the Doukhobors,* London, 1904, p. 231):

"It would be hard to find a community consisting of an equal number of men, among whom there is less crime, and more industry, honesty, and hospitality, or more personal attention by the hale adults to the needs of the old people and the children. They are sober, temperate, healthy, and there is no prostitution (and apparently little looseness in sexual matters) among them. Compared with the fancy pictures drawn by some enthusiasts they are disappointing, but compare well with ordinary human beings; they are a

worthy and estimable folk in spite of their obstinacy, sectarian exclusiveness, and their too great dependence on a very fallible authority."

They have their origin in the second half of the eighteenth century in the propaganda of a Prussian soldier who was supposed to be Skovoroda, a Quaker, and in the writings of a Little Russian philosopher and mystic. This sect seems to be founded in Kharkov, though all their early history is wrapped in uncertainty. They wrote no books, partly because most of their members were illiterate and partly because secrecy compelled their propaganda to be carried on by word of mouth. It is a fact that Skovoroda drew his inspiration from the teachings of the Czech sect of Abrahamites, and taught that Jesus Christ was not to be sought without, but within one's own soul: "If you do not first of all seek within you, you will in vain seek in other places." The Dukhobors believe that man had fallen from original purity and "must cleanse himself in the home of his spirits, so that he may not go far to the pool in Jerusalem." They say: "God is Spirit, and images are but idols. A picture is not Christ; it is but a bit of painted board. We believe in Christ, not a Christ of brass, nor of silver, nor of gold, the work of men's hands, but in Christ, the son of God, Saviour of the world." They may be compared with the *Society of Friends*. The main thing was to them to practice love to God and to one's neighbors—the Gospel, the sacraments; their religious observances had not meaning to them externally, but only in a spiritual way. The Dukhobors seem to have held that Christ was merely a godlike man, and that His spirit was migrated into many persons. All people, they hold, are equal as children to God, and there is no need of there being any rulers. The only law is to do what is right. Dukhobors accept the Ten Commandments and the "useful" parts of the Bible. All else is allegory to them, though they have no symbols, forms, creed, or eccles-

iastical organizations. They call themselves *Istinie Khristianie* ("True" or "Spiritual Christians"). They say: "The Raskolnik will die a martyr for the right to make the sign of the cross with two fingers; we do not cross ourselves at all, either with two or with three fingers; we strive to attain a better knowledge of God." Dukhobors have no marriage ceremonies, believing marriage to be a question of the inclination of the heart only. (Wives and husbands are sisters and brothers, and are called "old man," and "old woman.")

Dukhobors spread rapidly in Russia, and in 1797 some of them were sent to the mines by the government. Alexander the First becoming Tzar in 1801, favored toleration, but in 1826, under a new Tzar, persecution was renewed, and in 1837 they were banished to the Caucasus. However, here the Mohammedans treated them well, because it was evident that they were not "Christians," since they would not fight. After years of quiet growth, persecution began again; in 1897 they have been persecuted for refusing to undergo military service. Peter Verigin was their leader in this, and has since continued leader. Pobyedonostzev, the procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church, also at this time undertook to bring all the religious elements of the Russian Empire into conformity with the Russian Church. Now a severe persecution resulted—many of the Dukhobors were killed, imprisoned, banished, flogged, fined. Only through the friends of these suffering people (like Count Tolstoy, D. A. Hilkov, Aylmer Maude, etc.) many thousands of this sect were enabled to emigrate to Canada, so that in 1900 some 7,000 Dukhobors were settled in three different colonies in Manitoba, or over 600 sq. m., provided on nominal terms by the Canadian government. Verigin himself came to Canada in 1903 (some of the Dukhobors emigrated at first to Canada). This sect has not always practiced communism, and some of the Canadian colonies are much more communistic than others, but their 30 different villages are now

largely and some of them almost wholly communistic (at least they buy and sell and conduct business collectively)—the only power among them is vested in an assembly of the elders.[34]

The Russian Baptists

In 1860 the peasants of two Russian Governments (Kiev and Kherson) formulated a Baptist dogma, uniting the evangelic conception with the dominant spiritual ideas of the Milk-drinkers and similar sects.

The Russian Pashkovists

The Russian Pashkovists (founded by an intellectual, by name Pashkov of North Russia) base their belief on the Protestant principle of justification by faith, to unite with the Stundists into one great sectarian revival. They propagate the evangelical Christian ideals of the school of Lord Radstock, given to the singing of Sankey's hymns, and to the inculcation of the familiar doctrine of English evangelicalism. (In 1870, Lord Radstock visited Petrograd on an evangelical mission.)

The Russian Johnites

The Russian *Johnites* believe that the Protohierens of the Cathedral of Kronstadt, John Sergiev, called by the votaries of Russian Orthodoxy the Thaumaturge, is the incarnation of the Divinity. This sect originated in the city of Orienbaum in 1901.

The Russian Prophets

The Russian Prophets repudiate the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and cause its members in their exaltation to commit strange acts. They substitute the

Saturday for the day of rest. This sect arose in 1901 in the Baltic Provinces.

The Russian Free Faith

The Russian Free Faith or *Readers* is a sect with Lutheran tendencies which affects a great aversion against the use of tobacco and spirituous beverages.

The Russian Kayuki

The Russian *Kayuki* or *Khekhulity* do not admit the worship of the sacred images; deny the real value of the sacraments; consider it absolutely contrary to the law of God to kiss the icons, to prostrate oneself in church, or to light the lamps; practice in their assemblies a public confession of sins, those present placing their hands on the shoulders of the penitents and pronouncing a brief formula of absolution. It was formed in 1901 at Petrograd.

The Russian Skoptzy

The Russian Skoptzy or Eunuchs or Self-Castrators or Self-Mutilators first appeared about 1770, a sect which grew rapidly in 1757. Their Messiah has been an illiterate person named Selivanov (his real name is unknown), and their prophetess Akulina Ivanova. Selivanov declared himself to be Peter the IIIrd and son of God. Banished to Siberia, he was permitted to return by Paul Ist, but was confined as insane until released by Alexander Ist. He then enjoyed quasi-divine honor in St. Petersburg, but in 1820 he was again placed in confinement in the monastery of Suzdal, where he died in 1832, a centenarian! In opposition to the licentiousness of some Khlysty Skoptzy lend all stress on *Matth.* XIX, 12, XVIII, 8-9 distinguishing between the *royal seal* and *second purity* (partial castration). Women

usually have the breast amputated. They preferred to abide by the ascetic practices of the earlier Khlysts and saw no other way to escape from carnal sin except by self-mutilation. The members may be recognized by their pallid face, thin voices, and unmanly bearing. Many Skoptzy are "white doves" or "pure spirits" only after they have begotten children, and others are nominally married. (See: K. K. Grass, *Die geheime heilige Schrift der Skopzen*, Leipzig, 1904; E. Pelika, Geschichtlichmedizinische Untersuchungen über das Skopzentum in Russland, Giessen, 1876.)

The Russian Sutayevs

A more favorable example of such sects is found in Russian *Sutayev*—the reputed teacher of Tolstoy—who disputed the right of the village *popes* (parsons) to burial dues. His son declined to be a soldier, on account of the command "thou shalt not kill."

The Russian Non-Prayers

In the nineteenth century a Don Cossack founded the *Non-prayers* (Niémoliàki), so that the latest outcome of Raskolnik reformation is Rationalism, for they say that we are now in the fourth—or winter—age of the world,[85] when prayers and rites have become useless. They respected only the prayer of the heart, and even regarded all prayer as an affront to the divine omniscience, and explained all Christian doctrines as allegorical.

The Russian Khlysty

The Russian *Khlysty* or *Chlysty* are Flagellants, founded by Daniel Philipovich and a serf named Ivan Suslov, who professed to "see God": the mediæval custom of flagel-

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It may be derived from the
then the corrupted word "K
The Khlysty seemed to be
of Jacob Boehm which on
spread in Moscow in the sec
tury. (In 1687, Kuhlmann
was burnt at Moscow.) Th
transmigration of souls. A
on trial said: "In the flesh I
age, the years I have lived b
know not." They shared the
are unmarried, do not marry; i
drink neither wine nor beer;
festivities; do not steal, nor sc
sential baptism is that of the S
Eucharist with the triturater E
blessed at the feast of the Epip
ing to them enhances their presti
popularly ascribed to them seen
of the teaching is expressed in
poems about young Prince Ioas
family, wealth and kingdom to see
prayer—a form of the Buddh

That I may not behold the vanity of the enchantments of this world,
That I may not desire the glory that comes from man?
Then would I bitterly weep for the heavy sin that is in me."

The Russian Malovantzi

This is a subsect of the Stundists, named from its founder, the peasant Kourat Molovan, who is supposed to be the Messiah. They resemble the Khlysty (according to their account God descended in 1645 on Mount Gorodin in the Government of Vladimir, and took up his abode in Philoppovich, who chose as his son, "Christ," the peasant Suslov, who in turn chose a "Mother of God," and twelve apostles. Suslov is said to have been crucified twice, to have risen, and been manifested to his followers, and to have lived until 1716. Since that time the Khlysty have had many "Christs").

The Russian Theodosians

The members of this *bez-popovsky* (or "no priest-people") sect would not eat or drink with the profane. They have not the slightest alliance with Bacchus or Calliope.

The Russian Philippovtsky

This sect sought redemption by suicide. Whole families, whole villages, put themselves to death. From them, toward the end arose the *Pilgrims* (Straniki) or "Fugitives" (Byeguni).

The Russian Pomoryane

The Russian Pomoryane (Pomortsky or "Sea-Dwellers") could not pray for the "imperator," for that would be to make the tzar Antichrist. But they would pray for the "tzar" under this more modest title. They form the north-

The Russi

The Russian Subotniki (
honorers") arose in Novgoro
no affinities with Judaism, obs
practise circumcision and ob
accept only the Old Testamen
led to expect the advent of an
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The Russian 1

This sect, like the Efefan
Starovertzi (= Men of the
(Wjetkaers) belongs to the *Po*
"priest people" or Hierrarchist
of the Schism; have priests-des
Church). All other Russian r
Bezpopovtchini or *Bezpopovtsky*
Diaconvtchini started in 1706 at
Alexander the Deacon.

The Russian 7

the unlimited application of Christ's direction to give to all who ask for help, the abolition of war, oaths, law courts, prisons and punishments, wealth and luxury; and the practice of universal brotherhood in peace and charity. According to the Tolstovsy and their great teacher, our supreme law is love, from which they derive the commandment not to resist evil by force. For love's sake, particularly on the ground of the commandment not to resist evil by force, this sect rejects law—not unconditionally indeed, but as an institution for the more highly developed peoples of our time. According to the Tolstovsy love requires that in place of law it itself be the law of men. Together with law, the Tolstovsy reject also, for the more highly developed nations of our time, the legal institution of the State, for (1) it is "the rule of the bad, raised to the highest pitch," (2) it is based "on physical force of the ruled." The followers of Tolstoy claim with their master: love requires that a social life based solely on its commandments take the place of the State because even after the State is done away, men are to live in societies. Together with law they reject also the legal institutions of property, because (1) it means "the dominion of the possessors over the non-possessors," (2) "the dominion which property involves of possessors over non-possessors, is based on physical force of the ruled." The way in which the change required by Christian love is to take place, according to Count Leo Tolstoy, is that those men who have learned to know the truth are to convince as many others as possible how necessary the change is for love's sake, and that they, with the help of the refusal of obedience, are to abolish law, the State, and property, and bring about the new condition—Christian Humanity.

As this sect includes also a large number of intelligent people, it is advisable to present Tolstoy's teaching more in detail. A very good summary of Tolstoy's teaching is given by Professor Paul Eltzbacher of Halle University, a

summary which is produced here with slight modifications:

Christianity is the basic principle of Tolstoy's teaching. But by Christianity he means not the doctrine of one of the Christian churches, neither the Roman Catholic nor Greek (Eastern) Orthodox nor that of any of the Protestant bodies, but the pure teaching of Jesus Christ. He says: "Strange as it may sound, the churches have always been not merely alien but downright hostile to the teaching of Christ, and they must needs be so. The churches are not, as many think, institutions that are based on a Christian origin and have only erred a little from the right way; the churches as such, as associations that assert their infallibility, are anti-Christian institutions. The Christian churches, and Christianity have no fellowship except in name; nay, the two are utterly opposite and hostile elements. The churches are arrogance, violence, usurpation, rigidity, death; Christianity is humility, penitence, submissiveness, progress, life." According to Tolstoy, the church has "so transformed Christ's teaching to suit the world that there no longer resulted from it any demands, and that men could go on living as they had hitherto lived. The church yielded to the world, and having yielded, followed it. The world did everything that it chose, and left the church to hobble after as well as it could with its teachings about the meaning of life. The world led its life, contrary to Christ's teaching in each and every point, and the church contrived subtleties to demonstrate that in living contrary to Christ's law men were living in harmony with it. And it ended in the world's beginning to lead a life worse than the life of the heathen, and the church's daring not only to justify such a life but even to assert that this was precisely what corresponded to Christ's teaching."

Particularly different from Christ's teaching is the church "creed," i. e., the totality of the utterly incomprehensible and therefore useless "dogmas." Tolstoy says: "Of a God, external creator, origin of all origins, we know nothing"; "God is the spirit in man," "his conscience," "the knowledge of life," "every man recognizes in himself a free rational spirit independent of the flesh: this spirit is what we call God." According to Tolstoy, Christ was a man, "the son of an unknown father; as he did not know his father, in his childhood he called God his father" and he was a son of a God as to his spirit, as every man is a son of God; he embodied "Man confessing his sonship

of God." Tolstoy says that those who "assert that Christ professed to redeem with his blood mankind fallen by Adam, that God is a trinity, that the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and that it passes to the priest by the laying on of hands, that seven mysteries are necessary to salvation, etc.,"—"preach doctrines utterly alien to Christ." . . . Tolstoy says plainly: "Never did Christ with a single word attest the personal resurrection and the immortality of man beyond the grave," which indeed is "a very low and coarse idea"; the Ascension and the Resurrection are to be counted among "the most objectionable miracles."

Count Tolstoy accepts Christ's teaching as valid not on the basis of faith in a revelation, but solely for its rationality, for faith in a revelation "was the main reason why the teaching was at first misunderstood and later mutilated outright." Faith in Christ is "not a trusting in something related to Christ, but the knowledge of the truth." Tolstoy says: " 'There is a law of evolution, and therefore one must live only his own personal life and leave the rest to the law of evolution,' is the last word of the refined culture of our day, and at the same time, of that obscuration of consciousness to which the cultured classes are a prey." But, continues Tolstoy, "human life, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night, is an unbroken series of actions; man must daily choose out from hundreds of actions possible to him those actions which he will perform; therefore, man cannot live without something to guide the choice of his actions." According to Tolstoy, reason alone can offer him this guide: "Reason is that law, recognized by man, according to which his life is to be accomplished. . . ." "If there is no higher reason,—and such there is not, nor can anything prove its existence,—then my reason is the supreme judge of my life. . . ." "The ever-increasing subjugation . . ." "of the bestial personality to the rational consciousness" is "the true life," is "life" as opposed to mere "existence." "It used to be said, 'Do not argue, but believe in the duty that we have prescribed to you; reason will deceive you; faith alone will bring you the true happiness of life.' And the man exerted himself to believe, and he believed. But intercourse with other men showed him that in many cases these believed something quite different, and asserted that this other faith bestowed the highest happiness. It has become unavoidable to decide the question which of the many faiths is the right one; and only reason can decide this. . . ." "If the Buddhist who has learned to know Islam remains a Buddhist, he is no longer a

Buddhist in faith but in reason. As soon as another faith comes up before him, and with it the question whether to reject his faith or this order, reason alone can give him an answer. If he has learned to know Islam and has still remained a Buddhist, then rational conviction has taken the place of his former blind faith in Buddha. . . ." "Man recognizes truth only by reason, not by faith. . . ." "The law of reason reveals itself to men gradually. . . ." "Eighteen hundred years ago there appeared in the midst of the pagan Roman world a remarkable new teaching, which was not comparable to any that had preceded it, and which was ascribed to a man called Christ." This teaching, says Tolstoy, contains the very strictest, purest and completest "apprehension of the law of reason to which the human mind has hitherto raised itself." He says that Christ's teaching is "reason itself"; it must be accepted by men because it alone gives those rules of life "without which no man ever has lived or can live, if he would live as a man,—that is with reason." Man has, "on the basis of reason, no right to refuse allegiance to it."

Tolstoy sets up Christian love as the supreme law of man. He says: "What men who do not understand life call 'love' is only the giving to certain conditions of their personal comfort a preference over any others. When the man who does not understand life says that he loves his wife or child or a friend, he means by this only that his wife's, child's or friend's presence in his life heightens his personal comfort." But," says Tolstoy, "True love is always renunciation of one's personal comfort," for a neighbor's sake. True love "is a condition of wishing well to all men, such as commonly characterizes children but is produced in grown men only by self-abnegation. . . ." "What living man does not know the happy feeling, even if he has felt it only once and in most cases only in earliest childhood, of that emotion in which one wishes to love everybody, neighbors and father and mother and brothers and bad men and enemies, and dog and horse and grass; one wishes only one thing, that it were well with all, that all were happy; and still more does one wish that he were himself capable of making all happy, one wishes he might give himself, give his whole life, that all might be well off and enjoy themselves. Just this, this alone, is that love in which man's life consists." According to Tolstoy true love is "an ideal of full, infinite divine perfection. . . ." "Divine perfection is the asymptote of human life, toward which it constantly strives, to which it draws nearer and nearer, but which can be attained

y at infinity. . . ." "True life, according to previous teachs, consists in the fulfilling of commandments, the fulfilling of law; according to Christ's teaching it consists in the maximum proach to the divine perfection which has been exhibited, and ich is felt in himself by every man."

Jesus Christ expressly derived the commandment not to re- evil by force from the law of love. He gave numerous commndments, among which five in the Sermon on the Mount are able. Tolstoy claims that these commandments do not consti- e the teaching, "they only form one of the numberless stages approach to perfection"—they "are all negative, and only w" what "at mankind's present age" we "have already the l possibility of not doing, along the road by which we are ving to reach perfection." The first of the five commandits of the Sermon on the Mount reads: "Keep the peace with and if the peace is broken use every effort to restore it"; second says, "Let the man take only one woman and the nan only one man, and let neither forsake the other under r pretext"; the third, "make no vows"; the fourth, "endure iny, return not evil for evil"; the fifth, "break not the peace to efit thy people." Among these commandments the fourth is most important, says Tolstoy. It is enunciated in the fifth pter of Matthew, verses 38-9: "Ye have heard that it was l, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth. But I say to you, Resist evil." Tolstoy tells how to him this passage "became the of the whole." He says: "I needed only to take these words ply and downrightly, as they were spoken, and at once rything in Christ's whole teaching that had seemed confused me, not only in the Sermon on the Mount but in the Gospels gether, was comprehensible to me, and everything that had n contradictory agreed, and the main gist appeared no longer less but a necessity; everything formed a whole, and the one firmed the other past a doubt, like the pieces of a shattered umn that one has rightly put together." Tolstoy points out arly that the principle of non-resistance binds together "the ire teaching into a while; but only when it is no mere dictum a peremptory rule, a law . . ." "It is really the key that ns everything, but only when it goes into the inmost of the k."

According to Tolstoy, we must necessarily derive the commndment not to resist evil by force from the law of love, for s demands that either a sure, indisputable criterion of evil

nymph Egeria; and man in general so long as he regarded the princes who gave him laws as God's anointed, or believed that the legislating assemblies had the wish and the capacity to make the best laws." But, says Tolstoy, "as early as the time when Christianity made its appearance men were beginning to comprehend that human laws were written by men, that men, whatever outward splendor may enshroud them, cannot be infallible, and that erring men do not become infallible even by getting together and calling themselves 'Senate' or something else." . . . "We know how laws are made; we have all been behind the scenes, we all know that the laws are products of selfishness, deception, partisanship, that true justice does not and cannot dwell in them." Therefore, says Tolstoy, "the recognition of any special laws is a sign of the crassest ignorance."

Tolstoy claims that instead of law Christ's commandments should be our rule of action, because Christ's love requires that in place of law it itself be the law for men. But, says Tolstoy, this is "the Kingdom of God on earth." . . . "When the day and the hour of the Kingdom of God appear, depends on men themselves alone." . . . "Each must only begin to do what we must do, and cease to do what we must not do, and the near future will bring the promised Kingdom of God." . . . "If only everybody would bear witness, in the measure of his strength, to the truth that he knows, or at least not defend as truth the untruth in which he lives, then in this very year 1893 there would take place such changes toward the setting up of truth on earth as we dare not dream of for centuries to come." . . . "Only a little effort more and the Galilean has won." According to Tolstoy, the Kingdom of God is not outside in the world, but in man's soul." . . . "The Kingdom of God cometh not with outward show; neither will men say, "Lo here!' or 'There!' for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you (Luke 17. 20)." . . . "The disciple of Christ will be poor; that is, he will not live in the city but in the country; he will not sit at home, but work in wood and field, see the sunshine, the earth, the sky, and the beasts; he will not worry over what he is to eat to tempt his appetite, and what he can do to help his digestion, but will be hungry three times a day; he will not roll on soft cushions and think upon deliverance from insomnia, but sleep; he will be sick, suffer, and die like all men—the poor who are sick and die seem to have an easier time of it

he rich—"; he "will live in free fellowship with all men"; Kingdom of God on earth is the peace of men with each thus it appeared to the prophets, and thus it appears to human heart."

stoy's rejection of the legal institution of the State is on the following reasoning. "Perhaps there was once when, in a low state of morality with a general inclina- f men to mutual violence, the existence of a power limit- is violence was advantageous—that is, in which the State ce was less than that of individuals against each other. uch an advantage of State violence over its non-existence not last; the more the individuals' inclination to violence ised and manners grew milder, and the more the gov- nts degenerated by having nothing to check them, the worthless did State violence grow. In this change—in the evolution of the masses on the one hand and the degra- of the governments on the other lies the whole history last two thousand years." . . . "I cannot prove either the al necessity of the State or its general perniciousness," 'I know only that on the one hand the State is no longer ary for me, and that on the other hand I can no longer things that are necessary for the existence of the State." ding to Tolstoy "Christianity in its true significance abol- the State," for the State offends against love, particularly it the commandment not to resist evil by force. And then, nding a dominion the State offends against the principle for love "all men are God's sons and there is equality g them all"; it is therefore to be rejected, says Tolstoy, aside from the violence on which it is based as a legal tion. He says: "That the Christian teaching has an eye to the redemption of the individual, and does not relate blic questions and State affairs, is a bold and founded ion." . . . "To every honest, earnest man in our time it be clear that true Christianity—the doctrine of humility, eness, love—is incompatible with the State and its haughti- its deeds of violence, its capital punishments and wars." "The State is an idol," its objectionableness is independ- its form, be this "absolute monarchy, the Convention, the late, the Empire of a first of third Napoleon or yet of a nger, constitutional monarchy, the Commune, or the re- ." . . . "All governments, the despotic and the liberal have in our time become what Herzen has so aptly called

a Genghis Khan with telegraphs."

According to Tolstoy the state is rule; its government is "an association of men who do violence to the rest." The men in whom the power is vested "practise violence not in order to overcome evil, but solely for their advantage or from caprice; and the other men submit to the violence not because they believe that it is practised for their good,—that is, in order to liberate them from evil,—but only because they cannot free themselves from it." . . . "If Nice is united with France, Lorraine with Germany, Bohemia with Austria, if Poland is divided, if both Ireland and India are subjected to the English dominion, if people fight with China, kill the Africans, expel the Chinese from America, and persecute the Jews in Russia, it is not because this is good or necessary or useful for men and the opposite would be evil, but only because it so pleases those in whom the power is vested." Tolstoy points the statement of the defenders of State rule who say: "If the State power were to be annihilated, the wicked would rule over the less wicked." But has the power, when it has passed from some men to some others in the State, really always come to the better men? Tolstoy says: "When Louis the Sixteenth, Robespierre, Napoleon, came to power, who ruled then, the better or the worse? When did the better rule, when the power was vested in Versailles or in the Communards, when Charles the First or Cromwell stood at the head of the government? When Peter the Third was tzar, and when after his murder the authority of tzar was exercised in one part of Russia by Catherine and in another by Pugachev, who was wicked then and who was good? All men who find themselves in power assert that their power is necessary in order that the wicked may not do violence to the good, and regard it as self-evident that they are the good and are giving the rest of the good protection against the bad."

Tolstoy admits that in reality those who grasp and hold the power cannot possibly be the better. He says: "In order to obtain and retain power, one must love it. But the effort after power is not apt to be coupled with goodness, but with the opposite qualities, pride, craft, and cruelty. Without exalting self and abasing others, without hypocrisy, lying, prisons, fortresses, penalties, killing, no power can arise or hold its own." . . . "It is downright ridiculous to speak of Christians in power." Tolstoy claims that to this it is to be added "that the possession of power depraves men." . . . "The men who have

the power cannot but misuse it; they must infallibly be unsettled by such frightful authority." . . . "However many means men have invented to hinder the possessors of power from subordinating the welfare of the whole to their own advantage, hitherto not one of these means has worked. Everybody knows that those in whose hands is the power—be they emperors, ministers, chiefs of police, or common policemen—are, just because the power is in their hands, more inclined to immorality, to the subordinating of the general welfare to their advantage, than those who have no power; nor can it be otherwise." Tolstoy claims that we shall always find "that the scheming of the possessors of authority—nay, their unconscious effort—is directed toward weakening the victims of their authority as much as possible; for, the weaker the victim is, the more easily can he be held down." . . . "To-day there is only one sphere of human activity left that has not been conquered by the authority of government: the sphere of family, of housekeeping, private life, labor. And even this sphere, the governments are already beginning to invade, so that soon, if the reformers have their way, work and rest, housing, clothing, and food, will likewise be fixed and regulated by the governments." . . . "The most fearful band of robbers is not so horrible as a State organization. Every robber chief is at any rate limited by the fact that the men who make up his band retain at least a part of human liberty, and can refuse to commit acts which are repugnant to their consciences." But, says Tolstoy, in the State there is no such limit—"no crime is so horrible that it will not be committed by the officials and the army at the will of him—Boulanger, Pugachev, Napoleon—who accidentally stands at the head."

In order to prove that the rule in the State is based on physical force, Tolstoy goes to show that there are in the State armed men who are ready to execute the government's will by physical force, a class "educated to kill those whose killing the authorities command." According to him, such men are the police and especially the army, which is nothing else than a collectivity of "disciplined murderers," its training is "instruction in murdering," its victories are "deeds of murder." . . . "The army has always formed the basis of power, and does to this day. The power is always in the hands of those who command the army, and, from the Roman Cæsars to the Russian and German emperors, all possessors of power have always cared first and foremost for their armies."

He points out the fact that the army upholds the government's rule against external assaults. It protects it against having the rule taken from it by another government. According to Tolstoy, war is nothing but a contest of two or more governments for the rule over their subjects. He says that it is "impossible to establish international peace in a rational way, by treaty or arbitration, so long as the insensate and pernicious subjection of nations to governments continues to exist." In consequence of this importance of armies, Tolstoy says, "every State is compelled to increase its army to face the others, and this increase has the effect of a contagion, as Montesquieu observed a hundred and fifty years since." But, if one thinks armies are kept by governments only for external defence, he forgets, says Tolstoy, "that governments need armies particularly to protect them against their oppressed and enslaved subjects." . . . "In the German Reichstag lately, in reply to the question why money was needed in order to increase the pay of the petty officers, the chancellor made the direct statement that reliable petty officers were necessary for the combating of Socialism. Caprivi merely said out loud what everybody knows, carefully as it is concealed from the peoples,—the reason why the French kings and the popes kept Swiss and Scots, why in Russia the recruits are so introduced that the interior regiments get their contingents from the frontiers and the frontier regiments theirs from the interior. Caprivi told, by accident, what everybody knows or at least feels,—to wit, that the existing order exists not because it must exist or because the people wills its existence, but because the government's force, the army with its bribed petty officers and officers and generals keeps it up."

Tolstoy says that the unchristianness of the State comes to light most plainly in the general obligation to military service—"every man has to take in hand deadly weapons, a gun, a knife; and, if he does not have to kill, at least he does have to load the gun and sharpen the knife,—that is, be ready for killing." He says that such things are possible only by "a highly artificial organization, created with the help of scientific progress, in which all men are bewitched into a circle of violence from which they cannot free themselves." Tolstoy says that at present this circle consists of four means of influence, (1) *"the hypnotisation of the people"* which leads men to "the erroneous opinion that the existing order is unchangeable and must be upheld, while in reality it is unchangeable only by its being upheld" (this hypno-

ion is accomplished "by fomenting the two forms of super-
n called religion and patriotism"; it "begins its influence
in childhood, and continues it till death"); (2) *"bribery,"*
"in taking from the laboring populace its wealth, by money
, and dividing this among the officials, who, for this pay,
maintain and strengthen the enslavement of the people");
"intimidation" which "consists in setting down the present
order—of whatever sort, be it a free republican order or
the most grossly despotic—as something sacred and un-
geable, and imposing the most frightful penalties upon
attempt to change it;" and (4) to "separate a certain
of all the men whom they have stupefied and bewitched
ie three first means, and subject these men to special strong-
rms of stupefaction and bestialization, so that they become
less tools of every brutality and cruelty that the govern-
sees fit to resolve upon." Tolstoy says this is done in
rmy, to which, at present, all young men belong by virtue
ie general obligation to military service.

lstoy says, "To-day every man who thinks, however little,
the impossibility of keeping on with the life hitherto lived,
the necessity of determining new forms of life," for the
istian humanity of our time must unconditionally renounce
eathen forms of life that it condemns, and set up a new
n the Christian bases that it recognizes." But how can Chris-
love take the place of the State which protects us against
ad men in our midst? Tolstoy retorts: "But who are the
nen among us? If there once were such men three or four
ries ago, when people still paraded warlike arts and equip-
s and looked upon killing as a brilliant deed, they are
to-day anyhow; nobody any longer carries weapons, every-
acknowledges the commands of philanthropy. But, if by
nen from whom the State must protect us we mean the
nals, then we know that they are not special creatures like
olf among the sheep, but just such men as all of us, who
committing crimes as little as we do; we know that the
ity of governments with their cruel forms of punishment,
a do not correspond to the present stage of morality, their
ns, tortures, gallows, guillotines, contribute more to the
rizing of the people than do their culture, and lead rather
e multiplication than to the diminution of such criminals."
e are Christians and start from the principle that "what our
exists for is the serving of others, then no one will be

foolish enough to rob men that serve him of their means of support or to kill them. Miklucho-Maclay settled among the wildest so-called 'savages,' and they not only left him alive but loved him and submitted to his authority, solely because he did not fear them, asked nothing of them, and did them good."

How in the future societary condition (without the State) can we find protection against external enemies? Tolstoy reasons as follows: But we do know "that the nations of Europe profess the principles of liberty and fraternity, and therefore need no protection against each other; but, if it were a protection against the barbarians that was meant, a thousandth part of the armies that are now kept up would suffice. State authority not merely leaves in existence the danger of hostile attacks, but even itself provokes this danger." But, says Tolstoy, "if there existed a community of Christians who did evil to nobody and gave to others all the superfluous products of their labor, then no enemy, neither the Germans nor the Turk nor the savage, would kill or vex such men; all one could do would be to take from them what they were ready to give voluntarily without distinguishing between Russians, Germans, Turks, and savages."

But how in the future societary condition—without the State—are institutions of education, popular culture, religion, commerce, etc., to be possible? Tolstoy says: "Perhaps there was once a time when men lived so far apart, when the means for coming together and exchanging thoughts were so undeveloped, that people could not, without a State center, discuss and agree on any matter either of trade and economy or of culture. But to-day this separation no longer exists; the means of intercourse have developed extraordinarily; for the forming of societies, associations, corporations, for the gathering of congresses and the creation of economic and political institutions, governments are not needed; nay, in most cases they are rather a hindrance than a help toward the attainment of such ends."

What will be the future without the State? Tolstoy answers: "The future will be as circumstances and men shall make it." . . . "Men say, 'What will the new orders be like, that are to take the place of the present ones? So long as we do not know what form our life will take in future we will not go forward, we will not stir from this spot'." . . . "If Columbus had gone to making such observations, he would never have weighed anchor. It was insanity to steer across an ocean that no man had ever yet sailed upon toward a land whose existence was a question.

With this insanity, he discovered the New World. It would certainly be more convenient if nations had nothing to do but move out of one ready-furnished mansion into another and a better; only, by bad luck, there is nobody there to furnish the new quarters." But what disquiets men in their imagining of the future, says Tolstoy, is "less the question 'What will be?' They are tormented by the question, 'How are we to live without all the familiar conditions of our existence, that are called science, art, civilization, culture?' . . . But all these, bear in mind, are only forms in which truth appears. The change that lies before us will be an approach to the truth and its realization. How can the forms in which the truth appears be brought to naught by an approach to the truth? They will be made different, better, higher, but by no means will they be brought to naught. Only that which was false in the forms of its appearance hitherto will be brought to naught; what was genuine will but unfold itself the more splendidly." . . . "If the individual man's life were completely known to him when he passes from one stage of maturity to another, he would have no reason for living. So it is with the life of mankind too; if at its entrance upon a new stage of growth a programme lay before it already drawn up, this would be the surest sign that it was not alive, not progressing, but that it was sticking at one point. The details of a new order of life cannot be known to us, they have to be worked out by us ourselves. Life consists only in learning to know the unknown, and putting our action in harmony with the new knowledge. In this consists the life of the individual, in this the life of human societies and of humanity."

In regard to property Tolstoy says it offends against love, especially against the commandment not to resist evil by force; it is also against the maxim that for love "all men are God's sons and there is equality among them all." Tolstoy says that the rich are under "guilt by the very fact that they are rich." He says that it is "a crime," that tens of thousands of "hungry, cold, deeply degraded human beings are living in Moscow while I with a few thousand others have tenderloin and sturgeon for dinner and cover horses and floors with blankets and carpets." He claims that property divides men into "two castes, an oppressed laboring caste that famishes and suffers and an idle oppressing caste that enjoys and lives in superfluity. . . . We are all brothers, and yet every morning my brother or my sister carries out my dishes. We are all brothers, but every morning

I have to have my cigar, my sugar, my mirror, and other such things, in whose production healthy brothers and sisters, people like me, have sacrificed and are sacrificing their health." . . . "I spend all my whole life in the following way: I eat, talk and listen; eat, write, and read—that is, talk and listen again; eat and play, eat, talk, and listen again, eat and go to bed; and so it goes on, one day like another. I cannot do, do not know how to do, anything beyond this. And, that I may be able to do this, the porter, the farmer, the cook, the cook's maid, the lackey, the coachman, the laundress, must work from morning till night, not to speak of the work of other men which is necessary in order that those coachmen, cooks, lackeys, and so on may have all that they need when they work for me—the axes, barrels, brushes, dishes, furniture, likewise the wax, the blacking, the kerosene, the hay, the wood, the beef. All of them have to work day and day, early and late, that I may be able to talk, eat, and sleep." . . . "There can be no farmer without land that he tills, without scythes, wagons, and horses; no shoemaker is possible without a house built on the earth, without water, air, and tools;" but, says Tolstoy, property means that in many cases "the farmer possesses no land, no horses, no scythe, the shoemaker no house, no water, no awl; that somebody is keeping these things back from them." This leads, says Tolstoy, to the consequence "that for a large fraction of the workers the natural conditions of production are deranged, that this fraction is necessitated to use other people's stock," and may by the owner of the stock be compelled "to work not on their own account, but for an employer."

Tolstoy points also how the significance of property as making the poor dependent on the rich becomes especially prominent in the case of money. He says: "Money is value that remains always equal, that always ranks as correct and legal," and consequently, as the saying is, "he who has money has in his pocket those who have none." . . . Money is a new form of slavery, distinguished from the old solely by its impersonality, by the lack of any human relation between the master and the slave"; for "the essence of all slavery consists in drawing the benefit of another's labor-force by compulsion, and it is quite immaterial whether the drawing of this benefit is founded upon property in the slave or upon property in money which is indispensable to the other man." . . . "Now, honestly, of what sort is my money, and how have I come by it? I got part for the land

at I inherited from my father. The peasant sold his last eep, his last cow, to pay me this money. Another part of my sets consists of the sums which I have received for my literary oductions, my books. If my books are harmful, then by them have seduced the purchasers to evil and have acquired the oney by bad means. If, on the contrary, my books are useful people, the case is still worse; I have not given them without remony to those who had a use for them, but have said 'Give e seventeen rubles and you shall have them,' and, as in the her case, the peasant sold his last sheep, so here the poor stu-nt or teacher, and many other poor person, have denied them-lves the plainest necessities to give me the money. And thus I ve piled up a quantity of such money, and what do I do with ? I bring it to the city and give it to the poor here on con-tion that they satisfy all my whims, that they come after me to the city to clean the sidewalks for me, and to make me mps, shoes, and so forth, in the factories. With my money I ke all their products to myself, and I take pains to give them little as possible and get from them as much as possible for

And then all at once, quite unexpectedly, I begin to dis-ibute to the poor this same money gratis—not to all, but arbi-arily to any whom I happen to take up at random."

Tolstoy says that property is upheld by the police and the my: "We may act as if we did not see the policeman walk-g up and down before the window with loaded revolver to pro-ct us while we eat a savory meal or look at a new play, and if we had no inkling of the soldiers who are every moment ady to go with rifle and cartridges where any one tries to fringe on our property. Yet we well know, if we can finish r meal and see the new play in peace, if we can drive out or nt or attend a festival or a race undisturbed, we have to thank r this only the policeman's bullet and the soldier's weapon, hich are ready to pierce the poor victim of hunger who looks on our enjoyments from his corner with grumbling stomach, d who would at once disturb them if the policeman with his volver went away, or if in the barracks there were no nger any soldiers standing ready to appear at our first ll." . . . "If there did not exist these men who are ready to scipline or kill any one whatever at the word of command, no e would dare assert what the non-laboring landlords now do all ' them so confidently assert,—that the soil which surrounds the asants who die off for lack of land is the property of a man

who does not work on it"; it would "not come into the head of the lord of the manor to take from the peasants a forest that has grown up under their eyes," nor would any one say "that the stores of grain accumulated by fraud in the midst of a starving population must remain unscathed that the merchant may have his profit."

According to Tolstoy, every man who works as he has strength should have so much as he needs and no more. This is a corollary from two precepts which follow from the law of love. The first of these precepts says, *Man shall "ask no work from others, but himself devote his whole life to work for others. Man lives not to be served but to serve."* The second precept says, *"Share what you have with the poor; gather no riches."* Tolstoy adds: "To the question of his hearers, what they were to do, John the Baptist gave the short, clear, simple answer, 'He who hath two coats, let him share with him who hath none; and he who hath food let him do likewise' (Luke 3. 10-11). And Christ too made the same declaration several times, only still more unambiguously and clearly. He said, 'Blessed are the poor, woe to the rich.' He said that one could not serve God and Mammon at once. He not only forbade his disciples to take money, but also to have two garments. He told the rich young man that because he was rich he could not enter into the Kingdom of God, and that a camel should sooner go through a needle's eye than a rich man come into heaven. He said that he who did not forsake everything—house, children, lands—to follow him could not be his disciple. He told his hearers the parable of the rich man who did nothing bad except that he—like our rich men—clothed himself in costly apparel and fed himself on savory food and drink, and who plunged his soul into perdition by this alone, and of the poor Lazarus who did nothing good and who entered into the Kingdom of Heaven only because he was a beggar."

In order to give a concrete example of Christian distribution of goods, Tolstoy cites the Russian colonists. He says: "These colonists arrive on the soil, settle, and begin to work, and no one of them takes it into his head that any one who does not begin to make use of the land can have any right to it; on the contrary, the colonists regard the ground *a priori* as common property, and consider it altogether justifiable that everybody plows and reaps where he chooses. For working the fields, for starting gardens, and for building houses, they procure implements;

and here too it does not suggest itself to them that these could of themselves produce any income—on the contrary, the colonists look upon any profit from the means of labor, any interest for grain lent, etc., as an injustice. They work on masterless land with their own means or with means borrowed free of interest, either each for himself or all together on joint account. In talking of such fellowship I am not setting forth fancies, but only describing what has gone on at all times, what is even at present taking place not only among the Russian colonists but everywhere where man's natural condition is not yet deranged by some circumstance or other. I am describing what seems to everybody natural and rational. The men settle on the soil and go each one to work, make their implements, and do their labor. If they think it advantageous to work jointly, they form a labor company." But, in individual business, as well as in collective industry, says Tolstoy, "neither the water nor the ground nor the garments nor the plow can belong to anybody save him who drinks the water, wears the garments, and uses the plow; for all these things are necessary only to him who puts them to use." He says that one can call "only his labor his own," but if one has as much as one needs.

How to realize this dream of Count Tolstoy? The first step in realization of it is "that an order of life corresponding to our knowledge may take place of the order contrary to it, the present antiquated public opinion must first be replaced by a new and living one." According to Tolstoy, *it is not deeds of all sorts that bring to pass the grandest and most significant changes in the life of humanity, "neither the fitting out of armies a million strong nor the construction of roads and engines, neither the organization of expositions nor the formation of trade-unions, neither revolutions, barricades, and explosions nor inventions in aerial navigation—but the changes of public opinion, and these alone."* Tolstoy says that this liberation is possible only "by a change in our conception of life"; everything depends on the force with which each individual man becomes conscious of Christian truth"; "know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

The best means for bringing about the necessary revolution in public opinion is that the men who have learned to know the truth should testify to it by deed, for according to Tolstoy, "The Christian knows the truth only in order to testify to it before those who do not know it," and that "by deed." Another

means, though a less effective one, for bringing about the revolution in public opinion, and this "you can always" employ, is that the men who have learned to know the truth should "speak it out frankly." Tolstoy says: "Not billions of rubles, not millions of soldiers, no institutions, wars, or revolutions, have so much power as the simple declaration of a free man that he considers something to be right or wrong. If a free man speaks out honestly what he thinks and feels, in the midst of thousands who in word and act stand for the very contrary, one might think he must remain isolated. But usually it is otherwise; all, or most, have long been privately thinking and feeling in the same way; and then what to-day is still an individual's new opinion will perhaps to-morrow be already the general opinion of the majority. "Men are to bring about the change themselves; they are "no longer to wait for somebody to come and help them, be it Christ in the clouds with the sound of the trumpet, be it a historic law or a differential or integral law of forces. Nobody will help us if we do not help ourselves." But it is not by violence that men are to bring about the change, for Tolstoy clearly says: "Revolutionary enemies fight the government from the outside; Christianity does not fight at all but wrecks its foundations from within." . . . "The Christian frees himself from all human authority by recognizing as sole plumbline for his life and the lives of others the divine law of love that is implanted in man's soul and has been brought into consciousness by Christ." The individual must not think it will be useless if he alone conforms his life to Christ's teaching. The impulse given by individuals will provoke a movement that goes on faster and faster, wider and wider, avalanche-like, suddenly sweeps along the masses, and brings about the new order of life. Then the time, says Tolstoy, is come "when all men are filled with God, shun war, beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; that is, in our language, when the prisons and fortresses are empty, when the gallows, rifles, and cannon are out of use. What seemed a dream has found its fulfilment in a new form of life."

No doubt, these dreams of Tolstoy are very hard to realize at present. If he were alive to-day he would, like his noble son Ilya, not agree with the peace Russia made with the Germans. Many call Tolstoy's ideas "anarchistic,"

because Tolstoy like all great prophets preaches what *ought* to be rather than what *can* be done. Nevertheless, the spirit of the Tolstoys and their great teacher is similar to that of other Slavic religious sects—a strife for better, Christian living, a realization of real Christian Humanity.

Other Russian sects, taking a more moderate course, but influenced by the same principle, fled from the contaminated haunts of civilization and buried themselves in deep recesses of the forests. In 1850 Tzar Nickolas Ist had the cells of the forest dissenters destroyed. Formerly some of them maintained that the true Peter, "the White Tzar" (*bělyj Car*), had perished at sea, and that a Jew, a son of Satan married to a German wife, had usurped his place. It is difficult to trace the origin of these sects. In 1710 Procopius Lupin was condenmed for asserting that the Church had lost the true spirit of Christianity; and in 1714 Dmitri Tvaritenev was convicted by a synod of spreading Calvinistic ideas. Senator Laputkin wrote in 1806; "No sect has up to this time been so earnestly persecuted as the Dukhobortzi; and this is certainly not because they are the most harmful."

Conclusion

In principle all these sects are "pure Christians" as Count Tolstoy, for both of them have the same "tone of soul." The sombre tales of Turgenyev, Tolstoy, Gogol and Dostoyevsky, and others, "reflect pathetic struggles, melancholy experiments, often made in remote villages, and among rude simple souls." The natural melancholy and deeply religious character of the Slavic temperament, the vast monotonous landscapes and the miseries of the peasants' lives make them eager for the emotional outlets of their respective sects. Without praising or condemning theological doctrines of these souls which are, no doubt, exhibiting a dying-cry for Religion, the psychologists have here a strange phenomenon

to explain, and to make clear in order to understand the religious instincts of the Slavs. If the form of these instincts is rather crude, we have to take into account that the Slavs have formed the bulwark of Christendom against the invasions of Huns, Avars, and Turks, and have again and again repelled the infidel, saving Europe from destruction. Shall the Slavs say: "*Undank ist der Welt Lohn!*" or to quote the spirit of Schiller's words: "The negro has done his duty, so the negro can go now." . . . The Slav patiently says, with the Czech proverb: "Time will show who meant and who did not mean faithfully with us." . . .

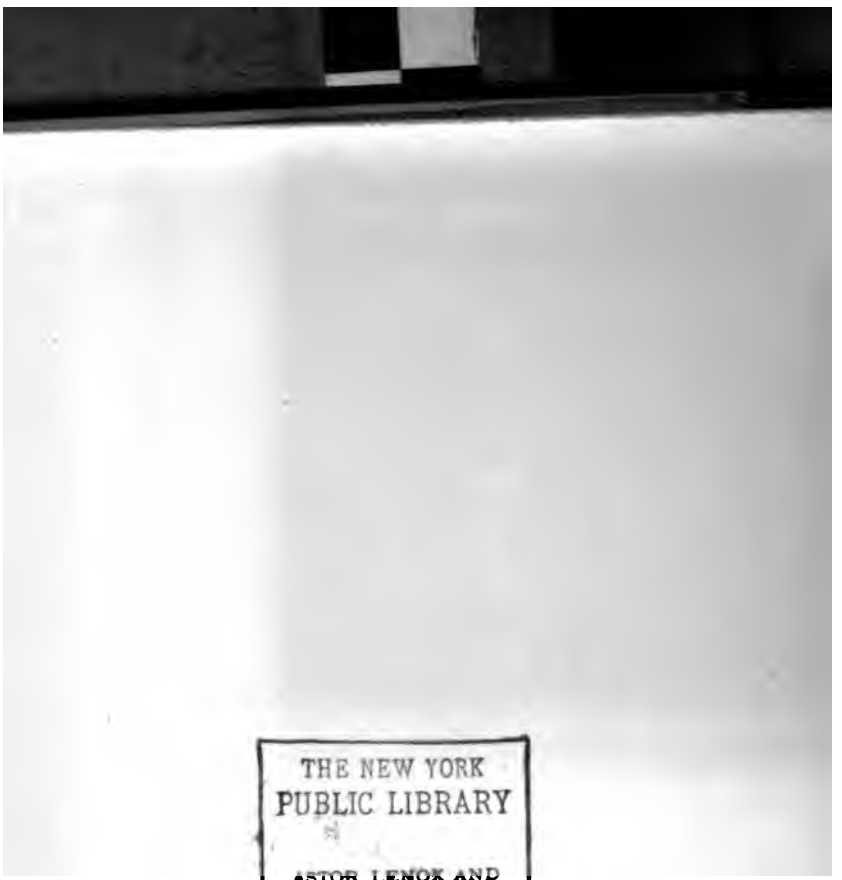
Do we have the right to condemn the Russian Church? Baring says that "Religion in Russia is a part of patriotism. The Russian considers that a man who is not Orthodox is not a Russian. He divides humanity, roughly into two categories—the Orthodox and the heathen—just as the Greeks divided humanity into Greeks and Barbarians. Not only is the Church of Russia a national church, owing to the large part which the State, the Emperor, and the civil authority play in it, but in Russia religion itself becomes a question of nationality, nationalism, and patriotism." [36] This Church has been able to give a people who could contemplate with mingled reverence and admiration the noble traits of pastors such as Cyril, Nikon, Philip Martyr, Hermogenes, and Philaret, or of pious asceticism such as were Anthony, Theodosius, Sergius, and Sozius, or of princes like Vladimir Monomachus, Alexander Nevsky, and Michael Romanov. This church showed its willingness to coöperate with earnest Christian churches. (In 1840, Palmer visits the Russian Church to discuss reunion.)

In his recent visit to Russia, H. G. Wells [37] writes:

"Italy abounds in noble churches because the Italians are artists and architects, and a church is an essential part of the old English social system, but Moscow glitters with two thousand crosses because the people are organically Chris-

COUNT LEO N. TOLSTOY

Russian; the greatest author of modern ages; the only man who is able to reconcile the East (the mother of all great religions) with the West (the European philosophy and science).



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ian. I feel in Russia that for the first time in my life I m in a country where Christianity is alive. The people I aw crossing themselves whenever they passed a church, the earded men who kissed the relics in the Church of the As-umption, the unkempt, grave-eyed pilgrim, with his ragged undle on his back and his little tea-kettle slung in front of im, whom I saw standing quite still beside a pillar in the ame church have no parallels in England."

Rathay Reynolds writes (in his *My Russian Year*, Lon-lon, Mills, 1913, XII+304) in much the same strain:

"In Russia God and His Mother, saints and angels, seem ear; men rejoice or stand ashamed beneath their gaze. The people of the land have made it a vast sanctuary, per-umed with prayer and filled with the memories of heroes of he faith. Saints and sinners, believers and infidels, are af-ected by its atmosphere; and so it has come about that Rus-ia is the land of ideals."

Stephen Graham (in his *Undiscovered Russia*, London, ane, 1912, XVI+357) speaks with glowing admiration of he Russian Church:

"The Holy Church is wonderful. It is the only fervid iving church in Europe. It lives by a virtue of the people ho compose it. If the priests were wood, it would still be reat. The worshippers are always there with one accord. There are always strangers in the churches, always pil-rims. God is the Word that writes all men brothers in Russia and all women sisters. The fact behind that word is he fountain of hospitality and friendship."

Selma Lagerloef (the only woman winner of the Noble Prize for Literature—a prize awarded to Kipling, Maeter-inck, and Hauptmann), G. Ferrero, Stephen Graham [88] and thers give many touching descriptions of the deep religious eelings of Russians and other Slavs. Prof. H. A. Miller ays that the Russian Eastern Orthodox Church "has de-eloped in the same democratic way despite efforts to ally it

with the autocracy. The Orthodox Church is magnificent in equipment and ritual, yet it offers a marked contrast to the aristocratic system of the Roman Catholic Church. The Russian most devoutly takes his hat off when passing a church or holy picture, but keeps it on when passing a priest. In the church priest and people mingle freely, and the high and low worship standing and kneeling side by side. This democracy was no part of the original ecclesiastical purpose, but is an adaptation to the customs of the people." Dr. John R. Mott, head of the War Council of the Y. M. C. A., who knows Russia well, believes that America's careless attitude toward Russia was not Christian. He says: "The Russians are the greatest people I have met in the forty-six nations I have visited. Russians are the most religious people I have visited. The Russians also are great idealists—more so than any other people. They are the most patient people and the people with the greatest willingness to make sacrifice. I found less disorder in Russia than in the United States. I agree with Senator Root that Russia up to this date has been more orderly than some of the countries that are criticising her." (Dr. Mott was a member of the Root commission).

The Slav does not care very much for church customs, as it is beautifully expressed in the words of a Serbian poet, Petar Petrovich-Njegush, Prince and Bishop of Montenegro: "Do not ask how a man crosses himself, But whose the blood that warms his heart. And whose the blood that nourished him." This is in accordance with a Serbian proverb, "Love your brother, whatever his faith." Bishop Njegush did not speak thus from a lack of reverence, but rather because of his heartfelt piety. He conceived religion as a force for unifying, not for disuniting, and it grieved him to see in his country everywhere the destructive results of religious discord.

The Slavs are religious in a simple way, but not fanatical

and the influence of the priesthood is limited. Many ancient superstitions linger, no doubt, among the peasantry, such as the belief in the vampire and the evil eyes; witches and necromancers are numerous and are much consulted, but all these things are insignificant before the deep religious feeling, they are the principal matters of popular religion. L. E. Van Norman rightly observes that the artistic, imaginative temperament of the Slav is peculiarly fertile for the growth of a religious fervor and devotion perhaps unparalleled in the history of humanity. Like the Celt, he is a poet and musician by nature, seeing poetry and music in stones, trees, and rocks where the more "practical" people can discern only material facts and forces. Selma Lagerloef, a Protestant, has understood (in her touching description of Russian pilgrims in Palestine) the true significance of the religious impulse which leads poor Russian muzhiks to the Holy Land, and which draws them to the numberless churches of the vast Russian Empire. Yes, these simple people cling to the belief that there is something else in God's world besides toil and greed—they flock towards the Light, and find in it the justification of their human craving for peace and mercy.

To conclude: the main significance of the religious church development of the Slav is the extent to which it became identified with his national aspirations, in the higher, broader sense of the word. Archibald R. and Ethel Colquhoun say rightly in their *The Whirlpool of Europe* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1907):

"It is not surprising that so democratic a people would not submit easily to a tyranny in matters temporal and spiritual alike by a power which was upheld more by tradition and superstition than by the personal force behind it. In this respect the Slavs differ utterly from the German, Gallic and Latin races to whom the name of Rome represented a power which in time they came to regard as sacred. When the temporal Empire fell the spiritual one succeeded it, until,

in 800 A. D., the revival of the Imperial title in the person of the Frankish king, Charlemagne, started a new current of sentiment and divided men's allegiance, instead of centering it still more firmly on Rome, as the Pope had hoped. The Slavic part of the population always resisted this domination, whether by Pope or Emperor, and thus we find the seeds of the Reformation, sown in England by Wyckliff, taking root in Bohemia, whence they were never eradicated, and leading to a national struggle with German influences. Even the German reformation was looked at with great distrust by the Bohemian Protestants, who are more in sympathy with Calvin than with Luther. The unhappy subjection of so large a portion of the Slavs by the Turks kept them from the influence of the Reformation period; hence the Serbians, the Bulgarians belong to the Greek or the Latin communion. It is interesting to note that the members of a religious sect of Asiatic origin known as Bogumiles, whose doctrines had spread through the Balkans and even through southern Europe to France, being obliged after the Turkish invasions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to live under Turkish rule, embraced Mohammedanism rather than become Roman Catholics, as, indeed, did many Serbo-Croatian families." [39]

The multiplication of religious sects in Russia may be best regarded as a vent for spiritual life, as a striving, in the absence of political freedom, for a certain freedom of thought.

CHAPTER XVIII

SLAVIC ETHICAL-MORAL IDEALS

THE Slavic Ethical and Moral Ideals are very hard to separate from those of their religious life. Those who udied Slavic folk without prejudice, and those who know e works of Gogol, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and Sienkiewicz, za K. Lazarevich, and other great Slavic writers, will agree th the statement of Gogol, that the main characteristics d value of the Slavic nature consist in this: "that it is pable, more than any other, of receiving the noble word the Gospel, which leads men toward perfection." Pro- sor Tugan-Baranovsky says rightly, "Religion always s and remains up to the present time, one of the most werful of historical forces."

Slavic capacity for the Gospel does not consist so much the verbal preaching of a church or in propagating relig- us dogmas as in living righteously. Many Slavic proverbs y that there is no religion without good deeds, for the estion is not so much to think well as to live well.

Such a religious attitude is the basis of Slavic upright- ss, kindness and purity, sensations which are experienced all individuals of the Slavic melancholic temperament, all meditative peoples. This melancholy religious trait the Slav is expressed by Zhukovsky:

"To speak the truth, the grave for me has no terrors,
And my heart with sad yearning awaits the hour,
When I must render to Him who gave it,
The life that has been to me a joyless burden
That has brought with it no single joy,
And long has lost the golden promise of hope."

Slavic peoples exhibit the Christian patience in suffering; their pity for the poor and oppressed is more than a mere occasional manifestation of individual feeling. Without the inner motive, all outer manifestations of creed are valueless. "Æsthetic is the Cain who killed his brother Abel (Ethics)," declared the great Slavic critic, Mikhailovsky.

Count Leo Tolstoy, in his passion for morality, denied and despised his own splendid achievements in art, by saying: "Let art and the whole tremendous fabric of modern civilization perish, only let the soul of man find salvation and peace." [1] He says that, "The mission of art in our times consists in transferring from the sphere of reason into the sphere of feeling that truth that the good of men is in their union among themselves, and in establishing in place of the now existing violence that kingdom of God, that is love, which to us appears as the highest aim of the life of humanity." [2] Many educated Slavs do not believe in the popular conception of God, or Law, or civil government, or marriage, or any of the fundamental inhibitions of present society, but their daily life is as regular and as conventional as a New Englander's, says Professor W. L. Phelps of Yale University.[3] The Polish nation, says Brodzinski, is the Copernicus of the moral world; it has discovered the law of the attraction of all races to the central moral point—the idea of humanity; it was granted to this nation to bring the rights of the throne and of the people into equilibrium on scales the beam of which stood fast in Heaven itself. And Turgenyev gives the following moral-ethical advice to his Slavic brothers and sisters: "On every occasion, when you are obliged to enter upon an understanding, ask yourself: are you serving Civilization in the exact and strict sense of the word?"

Slavs have been always the most tolerant people in matters of belief, hence the readiness with which they adopted Christianity. A Serbian proverb says: "I love my brother,

whatever his faith." But the Slavs are also trying to avoid a confusion of real religion and real Christianity as a historical reality, for the ethical ideals of Jesus are quite different from the Christianity of the dark ages. As the Saviour said: "No man can serve two masters." The Slavs are anxious for a religion according to the form of Auguste Compte's—"*religion de l'humanité*" (religion of humanity) or Robespiere's "religion of reason," or the "religion of morals" offered by the Society for Ethical Culture, or perhaps the "Neo-Buddhism," etc. Such an ideal is in truth the ideal of all mankind—it is called *Messiah* among the Jews; *hero* among the Greeks; among the Christians, *Christ;* and *chiün*, the superior man, or to use Nietzsche's expression, *der Uebermensch* (the overman or superman), among the Chinese. And for that reason (but apparently the godlessness of the modern world is really a wrestling with God like that of Jacob, and modern men are wrestling with God, not with the Father but with the Son), the godless men of to-day, the wrestlers with Jesus Christ are nearer to Christ than the Christians are. Here is the "message" of Merezhkovsky: "And Christ seeing that he has not prevailed against the world will say to it: 'Let not go for the day breaketh.' And the world will say to Christ: 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me; and Christ will bless it in the morning dawn, in the revelation of the Spirit, in the third covenant and will give mankind a new name, the name of God-Sonhood, God-Mankind." (In 1833, Ivanov paints the Appearance of the Messiah among the People).

This is also the spirit of Tolstoy's words: "I see hope for us all only in the return of Christianity." Tolstoy, who did not believe in the divinity of Jesus, denied the same things which are denied by Christ Himself, i.e., everything which is only verbal belief, which is pure Churchism. If there is anything magical in the white man which is able to unite all nations on earth, it is the religious-moral life and life

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teachings, a religion which is cosmopolitan rather than ethnic or national. The philanthropic work during the famines of 1873 and 1891 gave Tolstoy an impulse for the "Simplification of Life" which filled the foreign periodicals with sensational pictures and descriptions of him in a cheap shirt-blouse, girded with a rope, with his hands on a plow, tilling his estate, at Yasnaya Polyana. The principle of simplification was carried into his religious beliefs—all teaching not coming from Jesus Christ Himself was ruthlessly discarded, and a New Gospel reconstructed from the old. (In March, 1901, the Russian Holy Synod issued the excommunication with which he had been threatened for about thirty years.) Tolstoy, who accepted Christianity in the terms of the Sermon on the Mount, reduced the teachings of Christ to the following five commandments:

(1) *Never fall into a rage*, viz., be at peace with everybody; do not allow yourself to consider any one as low or stupid.

(2) Do not violate the rights of wedlock—*Do not commit adultery.*

(3) *Take no oath*, for it impels men to sin; know that it is wrong, and bind not yourself by any promise.

(4) *Use no violence in self-defense*, for human vengeance or justice is an evil; do not, under any pretext, practice it; bear with insults, and render not evil for evil.

(5) *Make no war;* know that all men are brothers, the sons of one father; do not break the peace with any on account of difference of nationality.

Tolstoy's *What I Believe* (also known in English as *My Religion*, 1884) is a socialistic and communistic explanation of the Gospel, which really forms the ethics of the Slavic common people. Tolstoy declares here that non-resistance is the central point of Christ's teaching and urges a literal fulfilment of His precepts. According to this religion the most dangerous enemy of society is the monarchical

Church, because it supports with all its power the errors which it had read into its interpretation of Jesus's doctrine. In place of this false light of Church dogma, which misleads believers and lets them "go into the pit," must be substituted the light of conscience; one's whole conduct must be irradiated by it, by submitting each of his acts to the approbation of the judge which we feel within us, "in our inner tribunal." Instead of written law Tolstoy substituted the supreme law of love, fraternity, and equal opportunity. For personal commands he wrote: "Be pure," "Love mankind." Then, with the full force of peasantism upon him, he said: "Do thou labor" (this precept dates from the writing of *Anna Karenina*, which appeared in 1875). Christ gave him the principle of the new life, the peasant showed how it may be accomplished. He says: "Do not lead a life which makes it so difficult to refrain from wrath, from not committing adultery, from not taking oaths, from not defending yourself by violence, from not carrying on war: lead a life which would make all that difficult to do." Then he suggests not to crush at pleasure the very conditions of earthly happiness; do not break the bond which unites man to nature, i. e., lead lives so as to enjoy "the sky, the sun, the pure air, the earth covered with vegetation and peopled with animals,"—become a rustic instead of being the busy, weary, sickly urban. Return to the natural law of labor;—of labor freely chosen and accomplished with pleasure, of physical labor, the source of appetite and sleep. Have a family, but have the joys of it as well as the cares, which means—keep your children near you, do not intrust their education to strangers; do not imprison them; do not drive them "into physical, moral and intellectual corruption." Then, have free and affectionate intercourse with all men, whatever their rank, their nationality: "The peasant and wife are free to enter into brotherly relations with eighty millions of workingmen, from Arkhangel to Astrakhan, without waiting for ceremony

or instruction. A clerk and his wife find hundreds of people who are their equals; but the clerks of higher station do not recognize them as their equals, and they in their turn exclude their inferiors. A wealthy man of society and his wife have only a few score families of equal distinction, all the others are unknown to them. The cabinet minister and the millionaire have only a dozen people as rich and as important as they are. For emperors and kings, the circle is still narrower. Is it not like a prison, where each prisoner in his cell has relations only with one or two jailers?" Finally, Tolstoy asks us to live in a community, in hygienic conditions, with moral habits, which bring you the nearest possible to that ideal which is the very foundation of happiness, as long as you live, death without disease, when existence has reached its limits.

Tolstoy points out that the higher one rises in the social scale, the farther one departs from this ideal. The picture which he paints of the physical pains and tortures of the wealthy and of the aristocratic, of those whom he calls "the martyrs of the religion of the world," is remarkably vigorous. J. J. Rousseau's declamation against the pretended benefits of civilization here finds a powerful interpreter, for in Tolstoy's conviction that the simplest folk were far more often possessed of the essence of religion than those who had been spoiled by civilization, we see simply amplified the belief of Rousseau, expressed in his "return to Nature." That Count Tolstoy was influenced by the illustrious Frenchman, there is no doubt. Tolstoy confessed to a lifelong admiration for Rousseau. Just five years before his dramatic death, Tolstoy wrote: "Rousseau has been my teacher ever since I was a boy of fifteen. Rousseau and the Bible have been the two greatest influences in my life." Tolstoy's infatuation for the *Emile ou sur l'education* and its inspiring influence upon his unique educational experiment at Yasnaya Polyana is well-known throughout the

world. Every reader of Tolstoy's autobiographical stories, especially *Childhood* and *Youth*, will have noticed how much their author owed to Rousseau's famous *Confessions*.

Tolstoy loved and worshipped Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Heloise*. Tolstoy might be called the "Russian Rousseau."

Ernest Dupuy, in his *Les grands maîtres de la Littérature Russe* (Paris, 1885, 362 pp.), asks, "Does that mean that Tolstoy declaims?" and answers: "No one is more in earnest. It is not only in words that he declares war on the organization of society recognized and defended by the government of his country. He puts the doctrine into practice; he is ready to suffer all things to affirm the cause of Jesus. His refusal to take the oath, which is one of the articles of his creed, has already brought upon him a condemnation from one of those tribunals which he himself condemns in the name of the maxim of the Gospels, 'Judge not.' It is not credible that the old hero of the wars of the Caucasus and Crimea compels his son to refuse military service, as was done once by the son of Sutayev, the *raskolnik* of Tver. He would have liked to strip himself of his property, in order to conform to the socialistic dogma forbidding inheritance and property. He was hindered only by the fear of trampling upon the liberty and the conscience of others. But amid the luxury of his family Count Tolstoy lives the life of a poor man. He has dropped his pen as a novelist. Clad like a muzhik, he wields the scythe or drives the plow; between seedtime and harvest, he preaches his evangel." And in this epoch, when the hurricane of madness is sweeping the earth, it is indeed proper to consider the gigantic work of Count Leo Tolstoy in giving humanity the Gospel of Love and Non-Resistance.

According to Count de Vogüé (b. 1848; member of the Academy and Neo-Catholics) all the great efforts of the present time are under the spell of the words, *Miserior super turbam*. And this drop of mercy falling on the miseries of

the old world, has softened human nature and evolved modern man, giving him conceptions of morality, æstheticism, politics and compassion. This evangelic influence on the past is denied by many civilized non-Slavic thinkers. The words of Vogüé just fit here: "The Koran contains a beautiful saying, 'How shall we know that the end of the world has come?' asked the Prophet. 'It is when one soul can no more help another,' was the answer. Pray Heaven that the Russian soul may yet do much for ours!"(See: *E. M. de Vogüé*, Le Roman Russe, Paris, 1886.)

Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* is nothing more but a wonderful glorification of pure Christianity, of Christian ethics and Christian morality. The despised Christian people of Nero's time have discovered the secret of earthly life, which the Roman culture of Petronius sought in vain—it was hidden from the learned and prudent and revealed unto babes. . . .

The key of Slavic morality is not the cold-blooded barbarism or narrow-minded nationalism advocated by Bernhardi, Treitschke, Hasse, Bismarck, Bülow, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Droysen, Häusser, H. von Sybel, Lexis, Lamprecht, von Halle, Albrecht Wirth, H. St. Chamberlain, Wagner, Lagarde, Waitz, Maurer and others, but a high religious moral postulate expressed so beautifully in the Serbian heroic ballads, where a queen-mother, Yevrosima (Euphrosyne), says to her only son, Prince Marko, who was called to decide to whom belonged the Serbian king's crown (to his father, to his uncles, or to the real heir, a poor orphan):

"Let not my rearing be accursed in thee, the son I bore,
For thy father or thy brethren speak not false, whate'er the stress,
But according to the living God speak out his righteousness,
Hurt not spirit, Marko, *save thou the soul my son,*
Rather lose life than the soul should have a stain thereon."

The words of Christ, "Whosoe'er will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall save it," are realized here. This Serbian hero, Marko Kraljevich, when he met his death in the battle of Rovina (in 1399), in Rumania, is said to have pronounced the following memorable words: "May God grant the victory to the Christians, even if I have to perish amongst them first." [4] Many Serbian proverbs point out this great ethical ideal: "It is better to suffer injustice than to commit it." "It is better that our body be in rags and the soul in silk, than to have a body in silk and the soul in rags"; "It is better to die for the truth, than to live and be guilty"; "Be the father to virtues and father-in-law to vices"; "A nice hope is better than poor behavior"; "Better to die honestly than to live dishonestly"; "It is better to have a good reputation than to have a golden belt"; "It is better to be poor and honest than rich and dishonest"; "As long as a man honours himself nobody can dishonour him"; "If a man cannot be handsome or rich as he would wish, he can be good and honest"; "It is better to fight with a brave man than to embrace and kiss with a coward"; "Do good and you will not have to repent it, do evil, and you will have to expect it"; "Who does good will receive better, who does evil will receive worse"; "In evil days the man shows what he is"; "It is better to weep with the wise than to sing with the fool"; "If a man is difficult to be known, find out with whom he associates and you will then know him"; "Where there is no fear of God there is no shame of men"; "It is better to serve a good man than to give orders to a bad man," etc. Moral ideal of Vladimir Solovyev is: "Have God in thyself" and "Treat everything in the manner of God." Nikola Pashich, the Serbian Premier, the great South-Slavic statesman, and the political eye of the Jugoslavia or South-Slavdom (b. 1846), says: "It is better to die in beauty than to live under disgrace." Serbia has indeed well and bravely answered the great question. He asked:

"What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world and lose his own soul?"

In a Serbian ballad entitled "Slavu Slavi Kraljevich Marko" we see Prince Marko [5] honoring his mother, so much so that he did not take arms (only to satisfy his dear mother), although he knew that in this way his life is endangered to death. In another poem, "Sastala se chetiri tabora," from which we have taken the just cited lines, Prince Marko, who puts his father into rage (because he did not say that the Serbian's kingdom belongs to him, but to a poor orphan, who is the only real successor to it), and his father tries to kill him,—he, Prince Marko, who could, according to the people's imagination, conquer the whole army, runs away like a small boy before his father, for it is not nice to fight his father. Unlike Milosh Obilich and Banovich Strahinja, who are personifications of perfect virtue, Prince Marko is a burly spoiled child, strong, self-willed, capricious, at times cruel, but always brave, always kind to the weak, poor and friendless, whether they be fair maidens or mere birds of prey, and, above all, always a devoted son to his old mother.[6]

Is there a scientific reason for the above mentioned attitudes of the best known and the best beloved hero of the Serbian ballads, Prince Marko? Russian proverbs say: "Shame is worse than death," "A good conscience is God's eyes," "Man carries his superiority inside, animals carry theirs outside," "If God does not desert you, the pigs won't eat you" (an historical fact), etc. Serbian proverbs say: "Where the elders are not heard, there God does not help," "God shuts sometimes one door, in order to open a hundred other doors"; "When God wills not, all the saints together cannot help." A Polish proverb says: "Faith pierces the very wall," and many other Slavic proverbs sound like that, and there is truth in folk-philosophy, as is well-known. Tolstoy's gospel "Resist not evil" means nothing more than a

y of the spirit over the body. That the Slavs are liv-
ıder the dominion of religion more or less clearly in-
:ted and understood is shown by their daily greetings:
help you on your way," "Go with God," "May God
it," etc. But this God is not the Jehovah of the Old
ment who throws boiling water and fiery stones on
ı and Gomorrah; He is not the one who in the name of
ı killed many Jews when he returned from Mt. Sinai;
not the one who sent the flood to destroy men,—He is
/ho is patient, quiet, slow and still, just and righteous,
oes not forget anything that is done by any individual
:rowd or nation or race, or as a Serbian proverb says:
does not settle His accounts with men every Saturday,
ıe day comes on which He settles them."

igion and morality cannot be separated in Slavic na-
The moral-ethical sense of a Slavic hero is illustrated
: Serbian Wilhelm Tell, Prince Marko, who on vanquish-
[usa Kesedziya,[7] exclaims: "Woe unto me, for I have
a better man than myself!" The words of the Serbian
p-poet, Petar Petrovich Njegosh, are very fitting for
ı hero: "Happy is he who lives for ever, such an one
ndeed good cause to be born." Compare the Slavic
ı attitude of Prince Marko with that of the famous
: Achilles, who mutilates the dead body of his rival.[8]
he Iliad is one long recital of how Diomedes and Ajax,
don and Hector killed.

e well-known electrical inventor, Nikola Tesla, men-
another earlier incarnation of Serbian heroism: "It
t the Kosovo Polje[9] that Milosh Obilich, the noblest of
ın heroes, fell, after killing the Sultan Marat II in the
nidst of his great army. Were it not that it is an his-
l fact, one would be apt to consider this episode a myth,
d by contact with the Greek and Latin races. For in
h we see both Leonidas[10] and Mucius,[11] and more than
ı martyr, for he does not die an easy death on the bat-

CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL-POLITICAL TRAITS

SOCIAL-POLITICAL traits of the Slavs might be best illustrated by their social and political ideals as indicated in their social institutions, marriage and love, liberty and war, woman-question, patriotism, etc. Although some hints of these traits are mentioned above, we are now to treat specifically the social-political traits of the Slavs under four headings, classification of which is, no doubt, *in abstracto*, for it is impossible to make a sharp distinction between the social-political and religious-moral traits, and both of them are many times very hard to separate from the intellectual-cultural and temperamental traits.

The civic ideals of the Slav are best exemplified in the Russian league called "Mir" (communal or parish village), or in the Russian "Artel," or in the Serbian "Zadruga" (communal household) or in the Montenegrin "Bratstvo" (brotherhood) and "pleme" (clan)—all of which represent the real world of Slavic peasants and their fatherland. And, in general, the Slavs are more democratic than the inhabitants of any other country.

Professor A. H. Miller points out very effectively the fact that the Russian Empire is freer than Germany and Austro-Hungary, when he says:

"Harmonious human relationships arise from qualities which seem to have no relation to efficiency. It has been a shock to the Germans to discover that in spite of their superlative efficiency so few people love them. Efficiency depends on complex organization with authority and subor-

ination, while democracy consists in self-direction, and its success demands the acquiescence of individuals to the will of others after all have had an opportunity of expressing themselves freely. Eventually such a democratic organization will become efficient, but this is a secondary rather than a primary aim. What a Russian common citizen will bring to the new era of civilization are a familiarity with democratic practice and a habit of mutual aid and co-operation which were almost universal among the various peoples of Europe a few centuries ago, and which have disappeared almost everywhere.—The American traveller, steeped in the traditions of Siberian and Russian despotism, once across the dreaded border, is surprised to discover his fear gradually giving way to a feeling of freedom and ease such as he had not known in Germany and Austria. There the stern regulations of the military system were always apparent and oppressive. Here one gradually realizes that he is left to do much as he pleases as soon as he has conformed to the requirements of passport registration.—There may be a check of his self-esteem as he finds that his official title of Herr Professor or Herr Journalist which is never omitted by the Germans is now dropped. In the language of the country he has become simply 'Mr.' Men in high places, such as the heads of universities, are addressed by their colleagues by their first names. In familiar Russian and Polish novels we find noblemen and military leaders regularly given the title of 'Pan' (Mr.), which is a term of respect but not of distinction. The relation of nobleman to peasant is not mainly that of superiority and servility, but of the older and younger brother. The name Little Father which is applied to the Tzar expresses the attitude of familiarity rather than of awe.—Compare this with the worship of the uniform in Germany, where a policeman will not answer your question unless you salute him, and an omitted title is an insult. In Petrograd during student riots it is not an uncommon

thing for students to kick the shins of the police with impunity; and in Russia officers and soldiers are more nearly comrades than in any other country in the world." That there is no class feeling even among the Russian soldiers is shown by M. Baring, who in his above cited book says (pp. 26-27) that the "Russian soldiers have little class feeling. They never, like the Prussians, form a military caste, distinct from the people. They have no *morgue*, no cruel haughtiness. While the German officer, even when his education is the best, feels himself to be a sort of priest,—a military *sacerdos*—the Russian officer, even when he is rude, is according to his own conception, a mortal like others."

D. M. Wallace, in his *Russia* (London, 1913, p. 410) points out very nicely that the Russian unsophisticated peasant (or *muzhik*), in his unsavory sheep-skin, can stand in the midst of a crowd of well-dressed people without feeling at all awkward or ashamed. (See also his article: *Looking Back Over Forty Years, 1870-1910*, in *Russian Review*, I, 1912, 9-17.)

Professor Herbert A. Miller claims openly that modern democracy needs Slavic traditions. He says: "It is among the masses, however, that we are to find the real contribution that Russia is making. It was formerly thought that ideals and practices were derived by imitation from a superior culture, but now we are discovering that traditions and customs are transmitted horizontally between people of the same class rather than vertically between the classes. The despotism of Russia is no more the expression of the real Russian people than Tammany Hall is an expression of American democracy, and the influence of both institutions on national character has been insignificant. Despotisms come and go, but the habits of a people endure." Professor Miller also points out that the Slavs "have preserved to a time that needs them such forms of social organization and traditions of simple living together that have

been almost lost elsewhere in the development of modern life. Just these factors of simple relationships of men must be reintroduced into society to make democracy successful. There is every reason to expect that the Slav will be swept along by the flood-tide of modern development before he has time to lose his characteristic habits and attitudes." (See his article on "A Prophecy of Slav Dominion," in *N. Y. Times*, May 23, 1915.)

That the Slavs are not servile people as is believed by some students of their peasants, is shown by many authors who obtained first-hand information about them. So, for example, Sir Charles Eliot claims that, "In spite of the period of serfdom through which he has passed, the Russian muzhik is not servile; he thinks of God and the Tzar in one category, and the rest of the world as more or less equal in another." In writing about Pushkin, Dostoyevsky said that one of Pushkin's main claims to greatness is that he recognized the intrinsic quality of self-respect in the Russian people, which they proved by the manly dignity of their behavior when they were liberated from serfdom in 1861. (See: *Serf Emancipation in Russia:* a letter, London, 1862; *Encore un mot sur l'émancipation des Serfs en Russie*, Paris, 1859; Count V. Orlov-Davidov, *Réflexions préalables sur les bases proposées au mode d'émancipation des Serfs en Russie*, Paris, 1859, 47.) A Leroy-Beaulieu tells a story (in his famous *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, Paris, 1881-89, 3 vols.) of how once, when he was travelling on the Volga, "a lady said to him, 'How can you bother yourself about our muzhik? he is a brute, out of which nobody will ever be able to make a man', and how on the same day a landed proprietor said to him, 'I consider the *contadino* of North Italy to be the most intelligent peasant in Europe, but our muzhik could give him points.'"

Baring earnestly believes that the history, the life, the philosophy, and the religion of the Slavic peasants illustrate

one immense fact: that the majority is always right in the long run—*Vox populi, vox Dei.* . . .

Slavic economical-social ideals are best expressed (1) in the Russian "Mir," "Artel" and "Svietelka," (2) in the Serbo-Croatian "Zadruga," "Moba," "Esnaf" and "Pozaymitza" and (3) in the Montenegrin "Bratstvo." A brief presentation of these institutions is most necessary in the study of mentality of the Slav.

Russian "Mir"

Economically speaking, *Mir* (from Russian or better to say, from the Old Church Slavic language *miru* = concord, peace, union and world) means an association of several families under one head. From the most ancient times the rural population of Russia has been organized into these *mirs.* Adjacent mirs are united into *volosts* or small cantons. In Mir the land is owned in common and is regularly re-allotted by the villagers themselves among the householders according to their working capacities and needs. It elects its own executive, or *starosta,* as he is called, and he may undertake all kinds of work of public utility. Land belongs not to individual peasants in Russia but to the villagers as a whole. It can be redivided every twelve years at the wish of a majority of two-thirds. This and all other local questions such as the incidence of taxation, are settled by village meetings, consisting of the heads of houses, where age naturally has a predominance. A decision which carries a majority of two-thirds is, by law of the Russian Empire, a legal "sentence" of the village. The village elects its own village-elder, who is responsible for the calling of meetings; and at certain seasons (e. g., that of hay-making) these meetings take place as often as once a week. Many villages are united in a canton, which is ruled by a cantonal elder, similarly elected by the chosen representa-

of all the villages of the canton. The cantonal is nominated by the Government, but the cantonal ı, all of whom are peasants, are elected by the canassembly. Yes, in Russia, where communal property s, where the Mir, a communal form of government dom- the social order, and where the unit of industrial or- tion is the *Artel* with its *starosta*, there the masses, ederation of communes, may awake and overthrow oli- y and install a real democratic government any time ople wish. A. S. Khomyakov, brothers Kiriyevsky, rs Aksakov, and the famous followers of these Slavo- down to Pobyedonotszev saw in the Russian Mir a ntee, not only for the welfare of Russia and Slavdom, r all the world, because it offers that economic comn and moral brotherhood which Western social democs vainly trying to discover in other ways, because it stined to assure the future of the Russian people and ord it the means of settling all the social questions of rld in accordance with the laws of justice and of love. ve Le Bon, in his *Psychology of People* (London, Un- 909, p. 228) claims (1) that the Latin races are in a ate case, and the Germans are no better off, because re rushing headlong to socialism which is ruin; (2) ngland and the United States are in a better position, e future of the world rests with Russia, because she has ed too recently from the régime of the 'mir,' or from nitive communism, the most perfect form of socialism, urn to this inferior stage of evolution. It has other ies. It is doubtless Russia that will one day furnish resistible flood of barbarians destined to destroy the rilization of the West, whose end will have been led up economic struggles and socialism."

t the Mir is by no means a sign of a lack of individual ive, rather that it expresses a spirit of independence is ed by many sociologists and economists. Professor

ture an individualist. He is willing to take his chances in a general mix-up. And therefore it is that at the earliest opportunity he threw off the shackles of collective ownership. In that long and successful assault which the barons of England made upon the people's land, the Englishman fell far short of that unconquerable spirit of resistance and counter-assault which we think of as the natural reaction of the Saxon to injustice. Had the aggression been political, there is no doubt that he would have shown his old spirit. It is this inability of the Saxon to comprehend the larger meaning of democracy that has made England what it is—a people willing to see their land taken over by the barons, though it means starvation for themselves. For this is right in line with the Saxon theory of the rights of the individual, whereas group control is slavery. The widespread poverty in which England finds herself to-day is due to this excessive individualism. The age of co-operation has come, and the Briton cannot adjust himself. He will starve, but he will not give up his lords.

"Let us now pass into Russia, the land of autocracy. Here we see an exactly opposite development. Instead of the baron absorbing the property of the commune, the commune is succeeding to the property of the baron. It is the village, not the individual, that owns the land and at irregular intervals redistributes the land, though not the house, among the members of the commune, or *mir*, as it is called,—every family is a member, and is represented by its head,—according to the size and the respective needs of the families. And there is here none of that instinctive rebellion on the part of the individuals composing it, but, on the contrary, a submission to its will which to-day, to any man of Germanic blood, is irritating and inconceivable. While in Russia, too, there is poverty, this condition is at least not due to the fact that the people are outcasts from the land. That is the chief difference, one might say, between Russia and the 'civilized' na-

tions, namely, that whereas in the former the poverty of the people is due to the Government, to what it has done and what it has left undone, conditions in the latter are due to the people themselves. And therefore while in Russia education and the resultant political changes may remedy the condition, in the more 'advanced' nations an improvement can be brought about only by a social revolution. And it is worth mentioning in passing that the starost, or head, of the Russian village never seeks the office, but has it thrust upon him, another illustration of the difference between the Slav and the Saxon."

Edwin D. Schoonmaker claims that there is no better illustration of the most characteristic difference between the Saxon and the Slav than that afforded by the respective ways in which Saxon America solved the slave problem and Slavic Russia the serf problem (emancipation of the serfs is, no doubt, one of the greatest events in modern history of the vast Russian Empire, that "granary of the world"). He says:

"Passing over the fact that in America it required half a century of the most active propaganda to convince the people, even the people of the North, that slavery was wrong, whereas in Russia no such extensive agitation was required, we come to the still wider chasm that yawns between the ways in which, after their emancipation, the slave and the serf were treated in their respective countries. So obsessed is the Saxon mind with the idea that freedom is a matter of politics that it seemed even to the abolitionist that ample justice had been done the negro when, after his liberation, he was given the vote. In Russia, on the other hand, where the people are unpractical in politics and see things rather in their social aspects, the permanent freedom of the serf seemed to depend not upon the franchise, but upon the essentials of livelihood. Therefore, while the armies of the North at the point of the bayonet were enforcing the

negro's right to the ballot, the Russian Government was quietly endowing its fifty millions of serfs with land. And when we remember that in both cases the emancipated peoples were a childlike people, the supreme folly of the Saxon-American becomes apparent. And he himself has become aware of this, or rather half aware of it; for while he has reversed his policy, he has reversed it only half-way. He has recovered the vote which he gave to the negro, but the latter's right to some part of the land which he has tilled for centuries the Saxon-American will not concede. And the reason why he will not concede it is as clear as day: the Anglo-Saxon is inherently an aristocrat."

A Slovene diplomatist who knows Russia well, Dr. Joseph Goričar, in his *The Betrayal of Socialism by the German Social-Democratic Party with a Short Sketch of the Russian Forms of Self-Government;* published by The Slovak League of America, Pittsburg, Pa., 1917, pp. 39-49), also calls the Russian Mir "a panacea for social and political evils," for in it

> The 'Khozain', as the head of the family is called, is the undisputed master of this large peasant family, all members of which have all things in common; that is, the house and all its furnishings are common property. Its members have common responsibilities. For instance, all debts are contracted by the whole family jointly. Furthermore, all the families or households of a village own all the arable land, all the pastures and forests in common; all of which enters into the constitution of the Mir. The village Elder of the Mir is called the 'Starosta' which is a departure from the conception which the Southern, and the Western Slavs have of the term, who ordinarily use the word 'Starosta' to apply only to the head of a family or of some civil institution, as for instance, the 'Starosta' of the 'Sokols', a gymnastic organization.
>
> The Mir has also common obligations; it is responsible to the government for all the taxes and other civil obligations. On the other hand, coexistent with these common duties, the members of the Mir enjoy certain inalienable rights; the family cannot be deprived of its homestead or the necessary farming implements, and the Mir, or Commune, cannot be deprived of its lands by creditors. The 'Selski Starosta' is the executive head of the village, but the supreme authority is vested in the assembly of all the 'Khozains' or heads of families. It should be noted for the edification of the Western world, that in case of the absence or the death of her husband, the Russian peasant woman has the right to take part in the debates of the village assembly. As the

is very little disturbance. In fact 'no class of men in the world is good natured and pacific than the Russian peasantry,' says Sir ice, the English author and the most noted foreign student of this ution.

e common land which the Mir possesses is of four kinds: the land nich the village is built, all the arable land set aside for cultivation, meadows and pastures and the forests. The homestead, which stands e village, is the inalienable property of the family and can never artitioned, as it is done in the case of the arable land and the ows and pastures.

is one of the powers of the village assembly to apportion and allot ommunal lands among the members of the Mir. This procedure place at irregular intervals, sometimes every three years, in case e arable lands; but the meadows are divided every year. The land ided according to the number of male members in the Mir; being ributed whenever necessary. As the taxes due to the central gov- ent are levied on every family according to the number of lots it it goes without saying that a just distribution of the land is pos- only if the arable land is divided according to the labor power of family. And this is done often to enable the families to pay their

After the number of parcels and shares have been determined, ssembly proceeds to the work of real partition of the parcels. The ons and subdivisions and the allotment of the shares is done by the nts themselves and with great justice and accuracy too, consider- hat these uneducated peasants use only the crudest measuring rods. meadows, as already mentioned, are distributed every year, and procedure takes place regularly at harvest time to enable every y to harvest its hay immediately. Very often the hayfields are i by the whole community in common and only the hay distributed g the families. The assembly also has the power to decide upon roper time for plowing, for making hay, for electing the Elder,

All the members of one family cultivate their land in common. absent ones, working in the cities or elsewhere, must send their gs to the family, the same as it is done by the Southern Slavs

Russian village there can be no isolation of any family, in striking cor trast to the condition under which the villagers in other portions o Europe live, with no such common bond of union, each one workin independently, which tends to foster the instincts of selfishness and t promote enmities. The sociability and good nature of the Russia muzhik are proverbial and must be ascribed chiefly to the Mir, whic smooths out differences and keeps all the families in constant touc with each other. The Mir educates these peasants not only to wor together but also to cultivate among themselves the spirit of solidarit and the willingness to make concessions to each other in the interest o the welfare of the entire community. The will of the assembly is neve opposed, even though it should visit a hardship on some individual. O the whole it may be said that such a village commune is a very goo example of a constitutional government. It is a living real institutio with very few written laws. It has been described by many profoun students of Russian institutions as the real solution of many difficul social problems, which are agitating the social and economic life o Western Europe. Sir Wallace calls the Mir the 'panacea for social an political evils'. Above all, it secures to every one of its members hi land, the same being allotted to him in severalty, thus satisfying the mos deep-rooted desire and longing of every tiller of the soil to possess lan And when a man does possess land on which he can build his home an from which he can derive a comfortable living according to his stand ards, he is inspired with the true spirit of a home builder. Perhaps i is this fact more than any other that constitutes the source of Russia' power, which produced the marvelous growth of her population an enabled her to settle rapidly the vast uninhabited areas of land sh possesses in the various parts of her empire. The Mir, therefore, doe not permit, or at least it tends to retard the growth of the discontente element, which forms one of the greatest evils of Western Europea and American social organizations. There can be little doubt that thi dangerous element was produced chiefly by the expropriation of th peasantry or the farming population. When a small landowner become separated from the soil, there remain but few opportunities for him t make a living; he can either go to the city or find employment with rich landowner; become either a wage earner, well paid perhaps, or servant, as long as he remains in good health. But in either event hi condition is very precarious; either work may become scarce or he ma lose his position on account of ill health or for some other reason. Th Russian peasant, on the contrary, remains a member of his Mir, eve though he engage temporarily in some other occupation by becoming wage earner or an employee of the government in some distant part of the Empire, working on the railroads in Siberia or Turkestan. H only needs the written permission from his Mir to absent himself, whic serves him also as his passport. He may return to his village whenevc he pleases and continue tilling the soil, because he never ceased to be member of his Mir and never lost his rights in it.

Such half farmers, half artisans always could be found in great num bers in Russia. They may be found in the farthest corners of the em pire, sometimes many months' journey from their villages. The Mi not only prevents the separation of the small farmers from their soi but it also makes it impossible for wealthy people and land-speculato

from buying up its lands, and thus compelling the peasant families to forsake their villages and depriving them of the lands of their ancestors. Even the more enterprising and grasping peasants themselves are prevented from taking advantage of their weaker and less provident neighbors, who might be tempted, if they could, to dispose of their patrimony and lose their means of making a safe living. This is one of the greatest blessings of this ancient Russian institution. Whoever had the opportunity to observe the disastrous effects which the unrestricted ownership of land had upon the peasantry of Austria-Hungary, where immense tracts of land passed into the hands of comparatively few persons, as in Galicia and some parts of Hungary, where the greatest portion of the farming land came into the possession of the Jews, who themselves are not tillers of the soil, he must admit that the Mir is admirably adapted to prevent the alienation of land by its actual tillers. The evil consequences of land being but the object of barter and trade, and the means of making money thereby, as it was done in Germany, where the Prussian 'Junkers' are the omnipotent masters, or as in Rumania, where large 'Latifundia' were created, whose owners squander their profits in gay living in the capitals of Europe, are very apparent. England and Ireland, where land is tied up for hunting grounds and other recreations and lost to farming, its natural purpose, may be also cited as good examples of its evil. There is one more reason why this village commune is a boon to the peasantry; a peasant always finds a safe refuge in his village when he is overtaken by old age. Besides this, his children are raised in the healthy atmosphere of the country. American surgeons, attached to the Russian armies, attest to the fact that the Russian soldiers are remarkably free from those contagious diseases which are the greatest curse and misfortune of the modern city dwellers.

Notwithstanding all these evident advantages, there were found some, even among the Russians themselves, who pretended to find serious objections to it. One of the greatest faults of this venerable institution, this sacred relic of the ancient Russian life, was said to be the lack of the spirit of competition among its members, and that to this is attributable the backwardness of the Russian village agriculture, as compared with that of the rest of Europe. It is most unfortunate that this opinion was entertained even in some governmental circles. Still there were some Russians who earnestly advocated its preservation in modern life. The so-called Slavophils, a group of educated Muscovites, were most strenuous in upholding all the good ideas found in the Mir. Yet, to the great disadvantage of the Russian national life, the government decided to abolish it. The principal reasons which led the Russian government to believe that the Mir has become obsolete and inconsistent with the spirit of modern progress and unrestricted competition, are not generally known. A disinterested person, however, would not be far from the truth by assuming that it entered upon this perilous course of 'liberating' the peasants from the restrictions imposed on them by the unwritten laws of the Mir, chiefly because of the fear entertained by the great landowners that land communism, as it existed in the Mir, would finally deprive them of their immense landed estates. During the revolution of 1907, the revolutionary party displayed great activity among the peasant class, instilling into their minds the idea that all

the land belongs to them. No more welcome economic creed could have been taught to the peasants, who by nature and the force of circumstances always were land hungry. The result of spreading these revolutionary ideas was that the peasants, working for the large landowning capitalists, or aristocrats, either refused to work or considered themselves as the owners of the land which they were tilling for their absent masters. Many of these large landowners, in consequence of this, were compelled to abandon their estates to the peasants. It was only another method of squeezing them out of the possession of lands which they inherited from their ancestors. This movement spread very rapidly even to other countries and led to bloody uprising in Rumania, where it was directed principally against the Jewish lessees of the large estates of the Rumanian 'Boyars'. It should be noted that under the Rumanian constitution the Jews cannot own land, but they evade this law by leasing the Moldavian and Wallachian estates. The bitterness of the poor peasants of Rumania, who were unable to subsist on their small holdings, was so great, that even in peaceful times they often forcibly resisted the Jews in entering into the possession of their leased estates.

This revolution originated in Southern Russia, where this passive opposition of the peasantry was so great that often the harvest on these large estates could not be gathered in. The revolt of the peasantry assumed the most alarming proportions on the estates of the Ost-See barons in the Baltic provinces; but unlike Rumania, Prussia, their neighbor, was able to stop its spread into her territories. These Ost-See barons, who until lately were all powerful in directing the internal and external policies of Russia, were, therefore, the ones who decided to apply the ax to this storm battered and centuries old Russian institution, this land communism. Disregarding the well known principle that ownership of property makes a man cautious, this group of men whose ranks were later augmented by some truly Russian aristocrats, finally succeeded in convincing the Russian statesmen that the surest way of preventing similar outbreaks in the future would be by abolishing land Socialism, through the abolition of the Mir and the establishment of individual ownership. They expected that the greedy and the reckless would get an opportunity, alongside of the titled aristocracy and the landsharks, gradually to absorb the land of their less fortunate or less provident neighbors. In a word they proposed to the Russian Government to make a thrifty German *bauer* out of the Russian muzhik. This catch phrase, assisted by the great pressure exerted by the great landowners and capitalists, carried enough weight to induce the Government to abolish this time honored system. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Russian capitalist class looked upon the Russian scheme of landownership as a great drawback, because it prevented them from furthering their own ambitions, by putting immense areas out of their greedy reach. The land owned by the Mir is, the same as the land owned by the Catholic Church in Austria-Hungary, or in England in the feudal days, held in mortmain. The strangest part of this movement is that it was not Witte, a Baltic baron himself, who dared to lay his hands on the Mir. Premier Stolypin, his successor and a genuine Russian, was the one who hearkened to the siren voices of the Germanic plotters and committed the unpardonable mistake of yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon the government by the large land owners and the capital-

But it must be admitted that Witte prepared the way by his reck-
nd gigantic enterprises in the domain of finance. Witte conceived
lan of making Russia a great industrial country, to enable it not
to supply its own wants but also those of Asia. Through Witte's
s, Russia became the *rendezvous* of the capitalists, schemers and
ors from all over the world. Great industries sprang up as if by
: and not a few men became fabulously wealthy in a few years.
ll this was at the expense and to the detriment of the agricultural
s, who fell into deeper misery than they ever were before. With
r of remedying this, Stolypin enacted the land reform laws of 1906.
lecision to abolish the Mir once reached, the government went to
with amazing rapidity. The work of laying out the individual
s and transplanting the muzhik from his village to the single farms
arried on in Central Russia as fast as the surveying could be done.
e meanwhile the single farm system was assiduously extolled to the
by the press, and every case of success of the muzhik, transformed
a *bauer*, was hailed as a sure sign of better times to come. No
: Catherine the Great, who imported thousands of German *bauers*
ettled them in the heart of Russia, along the Volga River and other
where the best agricultural lands are situated, firmly expected
the example of the privileged immigrants would stimulate the
lk to greater activity and induce him to follow it. But nothing
hat happened. The Germans grew rich by their thrift and the
lk remained stolidly immovable in their deep rooted apathy. The
may happen now. Signs are not wanting that the desired trans-
ation in the Russian system of landownership will prove a failure.
: far sighted persons and the lovers of the Mir predicted, is taking
now by reason of the sudden change in this most ticklish question
ussian internal policy, making the peasant land an object of mere
r and trade and money making through speculation and robbing
all the sentimental and social background. The very thing that
dherents of capitalism had expected is actually happening. The
became the property of the peasants only temporarily. Soon signs
stlessness were noticeable among this new class of men. The newly
individual landowners began selling their farms faster than was
for the safety of the Empire. A pauper proletariat, living from
to mouth, was soon formed and the farms rapidly passed into the
s of a small body of speculators, of people who lived far away from
land which they used only to enrich themselves by trading in it.
ese transactions Jews also took part, repeating their performances
'estern Europe. The country soon began to drift on the same dan-
s current on which other countries were floating, with pauperism
plutocracy and an acute and intensified struggle for existence as
outstanding features. Being a farming country, whose might
nds upon the prosperity of its farming population, this was the
: dangerous to Russia, because it should always have remained on
ld basis. Whatever is likely to weaken the source of vitality of any
try will also endanger its power. The great German philosopher,
nits, when he visited Paris in 1674, predicted the downfall of the
ty Turkish empire, and he based his prophecy mainly on the condi-
of its rural population. The 'agas' or large landowners were very
and powerful, while the 'rayas' the tillers of the soil were living

in the greatest poverty. The frequent uprisings of this poor landless mass of people has always been a source of embarrassment to the Turkish government, leading to revolts and subsequent bloody reprisals which invited foreign intervention. What makes France so powerful to-day? It is her prosperous farming population. This can also be said of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand the belated measures of land reform and the difficulties which Great Britain is experiencing in trying to induce her masses to fight for the safety of their country, must be attributed to the indifference with which her landless proletariat regards the efforts of the government.

Russia reaped great victories in the past and she will come out victorious now, because of the infinite sacrifices which her peasant population brought and is ready to bring. This idea is most vividly portrayed in the pen picture of Stephen Graham, in his interesting work on *Great Russia,* quoting the following answer of a prominent Russian to the question put to him as to what he thought of the present war: 'It is the Last Judgment. Every one has been handed in his account. Now we've got to get square with Destiny. We must realize all our resources of will, faith and health and put them in front of our national life to save it. The war reminds me of the crisis in the drama of *Peer Gynt.* You remember, when the button moulder came and said to Peer that his day was done, and that he must be put into the melting pot and re-cast as some one else. Peer searched in his history and in his life to get something that could redeem him. Only in the peasant girl did he find refuge from the moulder. So with Russia; to her also the button moulder has come and offered to melt her up with a strong alloy of Germany into something new. Russia must go to her peasants if she wishes to remain herself. In the hour of distress it is our peasants who will save us.'

It follows, therefore, that the Russian statesmen will always have to turn their attention to improving the well-being of their peasantry, as they are the backbone of the Empire. Many an emergency will arise, when they will have to call on the help of the peasantry, because, no matter how pacific herself Russia will be exposed to attacks by her neighbors, sometimes simultaneously from many sides. Instead of abolishing the Mir, the Russian government should have done everything in its power to instill new life into it by teaching its members improved methods of cultivation, by granting them loans to buy modern farming implements, in fact by putting the whole system on a modern coöperative basis. In this way Russia possibly could unite her social and economic reconstruction with the village commune and could pass without embarrassment from her ancient communism to a higher level of social order, avoiding the dangers of a purely capitalistic period. The unlimited confidence which the Russian statesmen had in Germany and her Kultur led them into committing serious blunders with disastrous results, bringing the Russian people to the brink of ruin. A healthy reaction against this slowly working deadly poison is permeating to-day all the governmental circles and all classes of Russian society. It is to be hoped that the Russian Socialists of all denominations, be they Social-Democrats, Nihilists, Anarchists or Social Revolutionaries, will also finally become thoroughly awake to the dangers of an eventual unrestricted introduction of the German Socialist principles into Russia. It will be easier for them to repudiate the German Socialistic supremacy,

the Mir embodies in itself all the fundamental principles of
, being at the same time the embryo of self-government. The
an intensely democratic institution, each one being practically
rning, having its own elected officers. Several of these are
nto cantons called the 'volosts'.
lirs are supplemented by the Zemstvos, the same comprising
:rritories with local self-governments. The Zemstvo takes care
larger public matters of the village communes and of their
and moral well-being. The Zemstvo is similar to the Mir, con-
f an assembly of deputies and of a permanent executive depart-
Every 'Ujezd' or district, and every 'Gubernia' or province, has
ro. The officers for these executive departments are elected by
, the landed proprietors and by the municipal corporations. The
is essentially a parliamentary institution. It is a fair example
il parliament with an executive department, corresponding to the
Rich and poor are all on the same level in this local body, the
the Barons and the Dukes and Princes are on the same footing
mushiks. The Mir and Zemstvo are the strongholds of Slav
cy, of its political rights and liberties, and on this foundation
re greatness of Russia must be built. The Duma, having now
, through the revolution, its full powers will be like a dome,
this grand edifice of popular government of the Empire, the
e Province and the Mir.

rder to give a clearer idea of the Mir, I shall quote
ore authors: Georg Brandes (a Dane) and Stepniak
sian nihilist who cannot be accused of sympathy with
ssian autocracy). Brandes says:

ssia is primarily and in its very essence a patriarchal
state where the father has the authority and the chil-
re in a condition of equality with one another. As a
of a development ordained by fate, Russia has be-
bureaucratic state, where official power has destroyed
ntaneous and natural growth in the relations of public
Nevertheless, the family, the municipality, and the
n Russia are three organisms, constructed on entirely
eneous principles, but moving in different spheres.
reat Russian family is not restricted to parents and
n; it includes several generations and many families,
d sons, brothers of the father or mother, who have
o a very recent period worked in the same house or on
ne farm, yielding obedience to the authority of the
and with property in common. This family relation

is now being broken up, because in it (as in the state) the parental authority has been inflated till it became unnatural and oppressive.

"In the meantime, the municipality is only the larger family, as the state is only the union of all the municipalities into one great family, whose father is the Tzar. The Russian family has two decided characteristics: the unlimited authority of the father, and the unlimited possession by the children. The Russian state, absolute monarchy, has developed first; the municipality, *mir*, the second. In fact these two characteristics—the power of the Tzar and the ownership of land in common—are the two fundamental principles which distinguish the Russian people from all others. It is very true that many other countries, Denmark among the rest, have long known a similar common ownership of property; but elsewhere it has been abolished with the abolition of serfdom, or with the emancipation from villeinage; here, on the contrary, it still survives. While the common family (or the organization which may be termed a family partnership) is undergoing dissolution since the emancipation of the serfs,[2] the municipal joint property has not only held its own since then, but it has even increased at the expense of private property. In the department of Moscow, since 1861, of 74,480 farms, only nineteen have abandoned the joint proprietorship; and at the present time, in the whole of Greater Russia, of all the peasant farm lands 90 to 98 per cent. are owned in common. Even in White and Little Russia common ownership has made inroads.

"It is natural that the Russians, underneath the socialistic agitations of our time, should see in their *mir* the healthy germ of better social relations. They generally regard themselves in this particular as the pioneer or prototype for Europe."

It is interesting to note that the Russian literature is full of poems, treatises, and religious contemplations in praise of

Mir. Dostoyevsky and other great Russian minds were smitten with the idea of Mir. Tolstoy (who is the living voice of the Slavic people just as Abraham Lincoln is the living voice of the American people) in his note book of 1865 says, that the historical mission of Russia consists in bringing before the world the idea of the socialization of land.[3] It is rightly said that Tolstoy is the glorified Russian or Slavic peasant uttering his heart to the world from the cross of ages, for from this great Slav alone, in modern times, has gone out the living conviction that peace and brotherhood are realities destined sooner or later to conquer the world. Yes, Schoonmaker is right when he claims that from this heart of the Russian people we see, like a saving spirit in the midst of blood and death, spreading out over the world, that wide circle of democracy beyond which you cannot go.

The author of the *History of Peasantry* (London, 1888),[4] Stepniak (Sergius Michael Dragomanov-Kravchinsky, 1841-1895), says this about the Mir:

"Up to the present time the law has allowed the mir a considerable amount of self-government. They are free to manage all their economical concerns in common—the land, the forests, the censors, the public-houses, etc. They distribute among themselves, as they choose, the taxes. They elect the rural executive administration. They elect the judges of the *volost*, or district.[5] The jurisdiction of the peasant tribunal is very extensive, all the civil and a good many criminal offences, in which one of the parties at least is a peasant of the district, are amenable. They are not bound to abide by the official code of law. They administer justice according to the customary laws and traditions of the local peasants. The women are in all respects dealt with on an equal footing with the men. Labor, not kinship, is always recognized as giving a defensible right to property. The mir recognizes no restraint on its autonomy. It embraces all domains and branches of peasant life. In older times

the mir elected the parson. Sometimes the mir decided that the whole village shall abandon orthodoxy and become evangelic. To the Russian peasant it seems the most natural thing in the world that the mir should do this whenever it chooses. The mir forms indeed a microcosm, or small world of its own. With the Russian mir the law is nowhere, the conscience everywhere. Not merely criminal offenders are dealt with, but every disputed point is settled according to the individual justice of the case, no regard being paid to the category of crime to which it may chance to belong. The mir recognizes no permanent laws restricting or guiding its decisions. It is personification of the living law speaking through the collective voice of the community."

In the light of all these statements about the Russian Mir, is it really true that the Mir is a menace to civilization? Does such a communal life represent only a primitive tendency of a Tartar institution, national weakness and dependence? Is this only a Slavic feeling of gregariousness, a remnant of an early and once widespread communism? Referring to this municipality whose bond of union is home rule and common ownership of the soil, Mr. Stead says in his *Truth about Russia* (London, Cassell, 1888, pp. 464): "Here in Russia we have the true peasant republic, the most democratic and socialistic of any institution now existing in all Europe, which may yet supply to a world wearying of unrest, of individualism, and of universal competition on the principle of the 'devil take the hindmost,' a clue to the solution of our (i. e., English) most pressing difficulties." John Fiske compares the local legislative power of Mir with that of the New England town meeting, and claims that this power of the Mir is in some respects even greater, since the precise extent of mir's powers has never been determined by legislation, and, according to Mr. Wallace, "there is no means of appealing against its decisions." Fiske adds: "To those who are in the habit of regarding Russia simply as a despoti-

cally governed country, such a statement may seem surprising." (See Fiske's *American Political Ideas*, London & N. Y., Harper, 1903, p. 40; and the first chapter of his *The Beginning of New England.*)[6]

As the Mir is the creation of the Russian peasant there is, no doubt, a great nucleus in his mentality, which the future psychologists will consider as one of the main working hypotheses in the psychology of the peoples.[7] Nikolay K. Mikhailovsky (1843-1903), the noted Russian essayist, critic, and sociologist,[8] claims that Western Europe has been irredeemably degraded and lowered to the bourgeois type, and thinks that Russia ought to be spared this lowering of type by the maintenance and development of her Mir. To quote him:

"Adversaries of our communal land system clamor for personal liberty. They say that the commune ties the owner hand and foot to the soil, and that it does not give him any freedom for individual activity. This was once spoken in the West. There the commune decayed, the individual triumphed and received the liberty of choosing his occupation, he had but to adapt himself to the new conditions. The right of 'free choice' of the emancipated individual was, however, immediately limited by historical development. He became a factory slave instead of a land owner, producing great wealth and yet actually starving."

Mikhailovsky gives the following warning to humanity:

"Fear more than anything else a social order that will divert property from labor. It will deprive the people of the possibility of individual initiative, of independence and of liberty."

In one word: Russian *Mir* is one of the most determining factors in the past, present and future of the Russian people. It represents the Russian soul and mentality in understanding the Humanity. Along with a rather moderate amount of superstition there is a somewhat pure and sound

form of primitive Christianity, a type of religion and morality, if not the highest, at least much higher than that which has during the same period governed in neighboring European countries. The common Russian people have always had traditions of a communal life and to a large extent of a Christianity applied in humble brotherly living.

Russian "Artel" and "Svietelka"

The spirit of Mir is not confined to agricultural training in the Russian community management, but extends to all sorts of new conditions such as modern industry brings, and is especially exemplified in the Russian *Artel* or an organized body of workmen, which is a co-operative productive organization applied to almost all kinds of enterprises throughout the Russian Empire, and is a form of co-operation efficient to a degree only dreamed of elsewhere. *Svietelkas* mean rural workshops owned and operated by the Artels. The famous Russian scientist, Prince Peter Kropotkin, says, in his *Mutual Aid* (pp. 203-204), this about the Artel:

"It is . . . Russia which offers perhaps the best field for the study of co-operation under an infinite variety of aspects. In Russia, it is a natural growth, an inheritance from the Middle Ages; and while a formally established co-operative society would have to cope with many legal difficulties and official suspicion, the informal co-operation—the *artél*—makes the very substance of Russian peasant life. The history of 'the making Russia,' and of the colonization of Siberia, is a history of the hunting and trading *artéls* or guilds, followed by village communities, and at . . . the present time we find the Artel everywhere—among each group of ten to fifty peasants who come from the same village to work at a factory in all the building trades, among fishermen and hunters, among convicts on their way to and in Siberia, among railway porters, Exchange messengers, Custom House

laborers, everywhere in the village industries, which give occupation to 7,000,000 men—from top to bottom of the working world, permanent and temporary, for production and consumption, and under all possible aspects. Until now, many of the fishing-grounds on the tributaries of the Caspian Sea are held by immense *artéls*, the Ural river belonging to the whole of the Ural Cossacks, who allot and re-allot the fishing-grounds—perhaps the richest in the world—among the villages, without any interference of the authorities. Fishing is always made by *artéls* in the Ural, the Volga, and all the lands of Northern Russia. Besides these permanent organizations, there are the simply countless temporary *artéls*, constituted for each special purpose. When ten or twenty peasants come from some locality to a big town, to work as weavers, carpenters, masons, boat-builders, and so on, they always constitute an *artél*. They hire rooms, hire a cook (very often the wife of one of them acts in this capacity), elect an elder and take their meals in common, each one paying his share for food and lodging to the *artél*. A party of convicts on its way to Siberia always does the same, and its elected elder is the officially-recognized intermediary between the convicts and the military chief of the party. In the hard-labor prisons they have the same organization. The railway porters, the messengers at the Exchange, the workers at the Custom House, the town messengers in the capitals, who are collectively for each member, enjoy such a reputation that any amount of money or bank-notes is trusted to the *artel-member* by the merchants. In the building trades, *artels* from 10 to 200 members are formed; and the serious builders and railway contractors always prefer to deal with an *artel* than with separately hired workers. The last attempts of the Ministry of War to deal directly with productive *artels*, formed *ad hoc* in the domestic trades, and to give them orders for books and all sorts of brass and iron goods, are described as most satisfactory; while the

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Bank was formed, with 1,327
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and of the cottage and Kusta
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Ekaterinburg unions (number
and the Siberian Union of Bu
artels in 1916

ve been formed for the purchase and distribution of ag-
:ultural machinery and implements. There are more than
,000 co-operative institutions in Russia—more than in
y other country.

J. Goričar, in his above cited work, says this about the
tel (pp. 49-50):

By remaining true to her ancient organizations, Russia will not only
re found a solution for housing and feeding her immense agricultural
pulation but she will also have found a most promising form of co-
:ration for her ever increasing class of landless toilers, the wage
ners. She has her famous Artel, which is assuming ever larger pro-
tions; so much so, that to-day even homes are being built on the
tel plan. Artel means a gang of laborers. The Artels, or workmen's
ociations, are corporations of independent workmen organized for the
rpose of production, service or trade. The 'artelstiky' as the members
: called, do the work on a job through their association, assuming all
: risks and sharing in the profits equally. In the Artel all the men
: equal. All have the right to vote, to take part in the administration
its affairs, and are entitled to all the honors in the power of the
ociation to bestow on its members. Before a new member is admitted
o the Artel, his past is scrupulously investigated, a moral life being
: of the principal requirements. When joining the association the
telstik pledges himself to work exclusively for the Artel. He leaves
: association when he becomes unable to perform his share of the work.
e distribution of the profits is made on the principle of equal work,
ıal pay. The life principle of the Artel is solidarity. This gives the
mbers an unlimited confidence in their Artels. The Artel is respon-
le for all its members. It is of the greatest importance to the future
the ever growing industrial population of Russia to preserve the
tel and to develop it through governmental measures along co-opera-
e lines. This is what the government is actually doing. And it is
o exerting itself to develop all those industries which form the most
portant part of Russia's industrial life. These are, then, the sup-
rting pillars of Russian socialism, resting on deep-rooted faith of the
ıvs in human solidarity, in strong contrast to the Western European
l American civilization, and certainly very sharply opposed to the
row-minded, pedantic German institutions. If the capitalistic system
ngs to the great working classes of Western nations, in the words of
: German Socialists themselves, an ever increasing uncertainty of
stence, ever increasing misery, servitude and degradation, it is to be
ped that by adhering to her own Socialism, Russia will spare her
ople these forms of poverty and will be able to bridge or diminish
: gulf which is ever widening in other countries between the capitalists
d the workmen. Co-operative societies for all workmen and farming
ıd, reserved exclusively for agricultural workmen by always keeping
out of the grasp of speculators, should be the guiding principles of
ıssia's national life. These will assure her future. In this way Russia
ll prove an everlasting attraction to Western and Southern Slavs,

accomplishing the favorite dream of the Slavophils, the grand Slavic Federation under the Russian hegemony. The Doctrine of Moscow, that all Slav streams must meet in a great Slav Sea will then be realized.

Let us see what an American writer says about the Russian workingman. The author of *Russia and the Open Sea*, E. D. Schoonmaker, compares, in his *Century Magazine* article on the *Democratic Russians*, the mentality of the Slavic workingman with that of his brother in Germany, England and America. He says:

"In studying the evolution of industry among the Germanic peoples, much has been made of the guild. And wisely so, for out of this small institution has unfolded the whole vast and complex structure of modern industry. All those elements of efficiency which have made it possible for this race to conquer the markets of the world, as well as all those abuses which, in their aggregate, have created among these peoples a menacing proletariat, lie in embryo in the old guild system. It requires only the most casual acquaintance with the growth of this institution, as it developed first in the merchant guild and later in the craft guild, to discover in it the germ of that plutocratic aristocracy against which the forces of socialism are marching.

"As far back as the very beginning of English trade, the right to buy and sell was enjoyed exclusively by the owners of property, just as until within recent times the right to vote depended upon a similar qualification. And these landowners who controlled the grade of the towns came very shortly to control the towns themselves and the populations of the towns. Inside a baronial feudalism there grew up a feudalism of merchants that shut the people out of the privileges of the markets and grew rich upon the tribute which they levied without having recourse to the laws. It was against the intolerable oppression of this aristocracy of merchants that the craft gilds were formed, organizations of men whose hands produced those articles from the sale of

which the merchant class became rich. And under the assault of these artisan bodies the power of the merchant class as a rival for leadership in the commercial world was ended forever. Henceforth the position of middleman, the buyer and seller was to be subordinate to that of the producer. But it would be a serious mistake to confound this artisan producer of the guild system with the working-classes of today. For this old system of production it was the master workman, the employer, who was supreme and who has since expanded into the powerful figure of capitalist manufacturer, just as the old Saxon and German chiefs through the centuries have evolved into king and kaiser. The mass of the workers, the journeymen and apprentices, had no voice whatever in determining the conditions of their labor, and every effort which they made in this direction was for centuries successfully thwarted by the controlling industrial aristocracy, at first by the sheer power of their organizations and later by the aid of the state, which they had finally come to control.

"There is a tragical significance in the term 'journeyman' thus early applied to the English workman, a man who had then no permanent home, but was to wander from place to place in search of work, and for a long time, as we know, even this wandering was forbidden for him. To what extent of vast numbers has this journeyman increased, this free Anglo-Saxon, stripped through the ages of his land and finally of his very tools of industry! Along with the other institutions which this world-conqueror has built, is the institution of pauperism.

"Re-reading the history of England in the new light which is spreading over the world, it is incomprehensible that we should ever have been beguiled into conceiving of the Anglo-Saxon as the pioneer of democracy. That he is an individualist, and that his dogged insistence upon the rights of the individual in matters of state has been of incalculable

establishment, of indust
stitution, which is known as the *ar*
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among the Cossacks of the Dniepe
appeared in England or in Germa
hunter stage, these Cossacks perc
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ning to perceive, namely, that it is
to compete. And so, instead of h
hunted in groups and divided the ga
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glory of the Russian people that th
certain respects the savage is super
Despite the allurements of 'civilizati
this barbarous practice of co-operat
be found in such widely separated pa
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controversy that the Russian is inst
other words, that he naturally fore
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as a whole. And therefore we find
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the members, performing all sorts of
field labor to the building of hous

he hired, whereas in the *artel* it is the group that is the
:r; it is the group that, like a joint-stock company,
its labor, and sometimes its capital, and shares the
s. While individualism in industry exists in Russia, as
es in every other commercial nation, the *artel* exists
in Russia, and may therefore be taken as an index of
the Russian people will do when their great strength,
is now wasting itself upon the borders, is called back
gin the work of internal development. For though in
cases this institution has been sapped and has gone
before the more aggressive individualistic system of
'eutonic peoples, as the national consciousness deepens,
tussia discovers the true value of her own creations as
people have discovered theirs, the *artel* will replace the
ck in the attention of the world.

lready signs are at hand that the hour of its conquest
egun. In various parts of the empire these *artels*
ılarging the sphere of their activities and are entering
roader field of manufacture. Rural workshops, called
lkas, owned and operated by these *artels*, are being es-
hed to take over the household industries. And in
ratic Russia the establishment of these industrial
:racies is being encouraged by the authorities. Com-
this long stride which the Russians have made toward
e democracy with what has been done in America by the
unions. These latter have not advanced even in
ht beyond the old aristocratic wage system. Their
ıas been toward shortening the hours and raising the
of labor, not at all toward ownership and freedom.
this prove nothing as to the relative democracy of the
ountries?

; has been maintained, however, that these democratic
ncies of the Russian people are simply primitive im-
s surviving from their barbaric past, and that these
e outgrown and left behind, as they invariably are as a

people becomes more enlightened. The answer to this lies deep in the character of the Russian people. It is true that the influence of surrounding nations has altered Russian institutions and will probably continue to alter them, but we must not overlook the fact that within these nations themselves a profound change is taking place—a change which, when in full force it reaches Russia, will tend toward the preservation rather than the destruction of these crude democracies. Socialism, which is democracy at work in the bread-getting business of life, will see to it that these precious seeds are not destroyed. Just what modifications this influence will bring about cannot be foretold. The deciding factor, as has been said, will be the character of the Russian people."

To conclude: The Russian *Mir* and *Artel* with its *Svietelkas* personifies, no doubt, a power of the people, a democracy, which is the tocsin of the new era in the history of human development. Wallace says:

"Russian life is not known in England. The Slavic land is not so far away but that the picture might have been noble had it not been for the dust raised between us in these years. Russia is not a land of bomb-throwers; it is not a land of intolerable tyranny and unhappiness, of a languishing and decaying peasantry, of a corrupt and ugly church . . .; the Russians are an agricultural nation, bred to soil, illiterate as the savages, and having as yet no ambition to live in the towns. They are strong as giants, simple as children, mystically superstitious by reason of their unexplained mystery. They live as Ruskin wished the English to live, some of them as he tried to persuade the English to live, by his *Fors Clavigera*. They are obediently religious, seriously respectful to their elders, true to the soil they plough, content with the old implements of culture, not using machinery or machine-made things, but able themselves to

fashion out of the pine all that they need. But they have all the while been doing this, and have never fallen away as the English have. There is no 'back to the land' problem in Russia, nor will there be for a hundred years.

"The liberal press and the revolutionaries would like to educate the peasantry in order to give them a vote. They would at the same time place no restraints on Russian manufacture and the freedom of town life, and so once more betray the country to the town and rush into all the errors of Western Europe. England has fallen away from the soil and ceased to produce its own food, and neither Ruskin, nor all the king's horses, nor all the king's men could replace her where she was. If Russia falls away, there will be one less humble toiling nation, one less bread-producing land. Some one has said, 'It is the folly of democracy that it wishes to make all lower orders upper orders'—that may turn out to be an international folly.

"The English have done supremely well as a nation, but the inclination of their character and the way of their development are not the same as that of other nations. Indeed it would be difficult to imagine two races more radically divergent from one another than the Teutonic and the Slavic. . . . We have to tolerate and to understand this new nation which is growing daily more articulate. Then, as the boundary lines become fainter on continental maps, and the era of cosmopolitanism dawns, we may ask ourselves as Europeans rather than as Englishmen—'Who are our brothers living away to the East, making food for us; what are they to us, and what is their contribution to the whole?'"

In one word: to understand the mentality and the position of the Russian *muzhik* (peasant) and the Russian workingman at their best, it is necessary to make a careful investigation of their Mir, Volost, Artel and Svietelka. No doubt, these Russian social institutions must grow nat-

urally, and have grown for centuries, in order to reach their present state of perfection. History must have its evolution, political systems their growth, and the development of institutions has never been much hastened or checked by any man's whip or curb. It is rightly said that the Russians belong to one of the highest of the white races, the country is rich, and vast, the harmful traditions of many other European nations have been absent. The Russian peasants have always governed their village affairs through the most thoroughgoing and democratic of institutions. There has been no vestige of class distinction among Russian people. The property of the family and the village has been owned and to a moderate extent also operated, and on social principles rather than on the competitive principles of private poverty.[9]

Serbian "Zadruga," "Moba," "Pozaymitza," and "Esnaf"

"Zadruga" (family community, household community) is to Serbs what "Mir" is to the Russians. In fact Zadruga unites in itself the advantages both of small and large properties, safeguarding the people against poverty, tending them in sickness or old age in such a way as no socialistic legislation or Utopian panaceas could ever bring about. It is strictly an altruistic institution whose motto is *All for one, and one for all.* Such an economic-social system, which among the South-Slavs from times immemorial prevented pauperism and the rise of a landless class, is still in existence in some parts of Serbia, but in recent days, at the instigation of the Austro-Hungarian government, it was abolished among the South-Slavs of the Dual Monarchy. Zadruga's essence is the custom of owning and carrying on a household and farm, not individually but as a family association. The male members of a Serbian family continue to live after marriage in the paternal home. If the house is

small to accommodate the young couple, an annex yat") is built. The home may be frequently enlarged is way, and as many as 50 to 100 members ("souls") family have been known to reside together.[10] Such y associations are called Zadruga. Zadruga's admin- tion is in the hands of the elected *stareshina* or *doma-* (head), generally, though not necessarily, the father eldest man. The choice depends on character, ability circumstances. A woman, usually but not always the of the head man, is chosen to superintend and direct women's work and sometimes a woman is made the head the whole Zadruga. Vivian calls Serbia a "paradise of r men," a land where there are no beggars in the sense civilized Western Europe, a land where a certain minimum a peasant's property is inalienable and no court of law authorize, much less enforce, the sale of his house and rtyard, his last six *yutara* (Serbian acres) of land, his ugh and his last pair of heifers.[11]

Serbo-Kroatian Zadruga has been of great interest to ny foreign sociologists, economists and statesmen. Sir ary J. S. Maine (in his books on *Ancient Law*, London, 55, and *Village Communities in the East and West*, Lon- , Murray, 1871), Emile Louis Victor de Laveleye (1822- 92), in his *De la Propriété et ses Formes Primitives*, aris, 1874; English translation under the title, *Primitive operty*, London, 1878), J. Peisker, Turner, R. Millet, psch, P. Dillon, and many others called attention to it.[12] ny Serbo-Kroatians wrote books (in Serbian or in Ger- n and French) about it, such as Professor M. Milovano- h (1889), Sigismund Cajkovac, Balthasar Bogishich,[13] Demelich, M. Vlainatz, J. Perich, Milorad v. Cuculich, ch, L. R. Jovanovich and Gruich, Milan G. Milichevich, lorad Zebich, M. Glushchevich, Popovich, M. Markovich, Spevac, V. Tkalac, Utjeshenovich, Dragoljub Novako- h, K. v. Vojnovich, F. Vrbanich, Ignatz Vatroslav Jagich,

Milovan Zorichich, etc.[14] However, I am going to quote here only two English authors, in order to give a better insight into the spirit of Zadruga's organization.

Herbert Vivian[15] who studied Zadruga by direct observation in Serbia, says that it "is the living together of a whole tribe, numbering sometimes as many as a hundred persons, all under the absolute authority of one chief. He was originally the father, ruling over his own children; but when they have married and remarried at home, and their children and children's children have done the same for some generations, members of the Zadruga may be under the dominion of a distant relation. He keeps all the money, makes all purchases, and decides the minutest details of a family life. On his death a successor is elected by all the grown-up males of the Zadruga. Of course, as a family grows, the building has to be enlarged, and sometimes it stretches the whole length of a street. When a member of Zadruga marries, he builds a new wing or pavilion, and instals himself there with his bride; but both are in complete subjection to the chief. Members are at liberty to leave the Zadruga when they choose; but the system works well on the whole, and the sentiment of family induced them to put up with many inconveniences and discomforts.

"Imagine a temperament which can tolerate the proximity and perpetual criticism of a whole array of mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and you may then do some justice to the boundlessness of Serbian equanimity. The publicity of the life has its advantages, however; for family opinion is thereby brought more directly to bear on individuals, and keeps alive many old-fashioned sentiments which might otherwise run a risk of dying out. Moreover, living in a Zadruga, with its practical co-operation, is, of course, much cheaper than setting up separate establishments. It is an ideal institution to keep peasants prosperous and contented, but it could certainly not be created at the bidding of a reformer

ıe solution of the problems of poverty. . . . Perish ıdruga, and workhouses, almshouses, destitution—in ll the penalties of that uncivilizing struggle for life we elect to call civilization—will certainly be en-ed."

the Serbian Slavic Zadruga Emil De Laveleye, in his *ive Property*, gives a specially interesting account. this system land belongs to the *gmina* (German *Ge-*, "commune"), which divides the law among the patri-families, according to their size. At the head of each is a *gospodar*. He is elected by the community and cts its business. He is the executive, but acts only with lvice of community. The wife of the *gospodar* or some chosen woman is the *domachitza*, and regulates the tic interests. The houses cluster around the central of the *gospodar*. In this house all take their meals. community has 20 to 30 persons, and occasionally There are usually three generations. When the nity becomes too large it divides. The young women y pass into their husbands' family community. The of the agricultural labor are usually held in common, f industrial labor, individually. Each community owns 40 acres. The aged and infirm are cared for in com-The women take turns in the common work. Com-ies aid each other. In the evenings, the community for songs and dance. Members are allowed to leave. system of Zadruga allows of division of labor and e fraternal life. But it is dying before the forces of eking and western individualism. (See Lazarevich-lianovich's *Getting the Foreign Workman's Viewpoint*, ure given at the N. Y. meeting of the *Amer. Institute ining Engineers*, Feb., 1918, published in the *Transac-* of that Institute, 1918, pp. 8.) Similar communi-De Laveleye says were developed all through Eu-in the Middle Ages, and existed till recently in Brit-

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the taxes. At prayers it w
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them, and dined and supped
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laid aside for the general re
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(not necessarily the membe
'Whose is that drove of shee
always replies 'Ours,' and n
the important economic and

cal part in the defense of the nation from the atrocities of the Turks; the men could easily assemble for a collective resistance, sometimes even being assisted by the armed womenfolk.

"The Zadruga has besides its economic, a religious foundation or basis, each Zadruga having its own *Slava* or patron feast. That it is of remote origin is proved by its having been traced to the other Indo-Europeans. The Celts had Zadrugas at a very early period, as is testified in the Irish Brehon Laws (Maine's *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*). Judging from numerous ancient documents the Zadruga was in existence among the Serbians during the middle ages—that is, during the period of freedom preceding the Turkish onslaught."

If we catch only the great spirit of Zadruga we will be able to understand the Serbian proverb, "One travels the world over, to return to Serbia." It is interesting to note that Serbo-Kroats under the Austro-Hungarian rule (in Slavonia, Kroatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Istria, Bachka, Banat, Baranya) lost their Zadruga because the Government used all possible schemes to destroy this great Slavic institution, on the ground that it was not a modern, "civilised" but a Tartar institution, because "when civilization advances individual competition becomes more developed and marked."

Kindred institutions in poorer circles are the *Moba* and *Pozaymitza*, primitive forms of co-operation for peasants who do not belong to Zadruga. So, for instance, a man who has not sufficient labor to plough or reap his piece of land calls for the Moba, viz., he invites all his neighbors to come and help him, say to cut corn and grass, and bring in his harvest in good time, paying nothing for such a service, providing them only with generous supplies of food and drink, but when any of them appeals to Moba, it is understood that he will take his turn. The Moba is working and

singing and laughing all the day—it is a sort of socialism combined with much pleasure.

The *Pozaymitza* is a minor kind of Moba, two or three laborers coming out informally, instead of twenty or thirty with considerable junketting. Then the *esnafs* of Serbia have fully preserved their mediæval character—they include both masters and journeymen, regulate the trades, and are institutions for mutual aid and support in labor and sickness. (See British *Consular Report*, April, 1889.)

Under the spirit of Zadruga the Serbs developed, also, some artificial relationships, *Pobratim* (brother-in-God), *Posestrima* (spiritual sister, or sister-in-God), *Kum* (God-father), and their derivations: *Probratimstvo* (brotherhood), *Posestrimstvo* (sisterhood), and *Kumstvo* (God-fathership).[16] Pobratimstvo and Posestrimstvo mean sacred bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood among two male or two female friends, a close friendship between two men or two women, or even between a man and a woman, which among the Serbs is still solemnized with the sacraments of the Church, followed by a feast, and the following toast shows the spirit of that union, a union which is never dissolved:

"With whom drink I to-day?
With thee, honored brother, with thee drink I to-day
In God's name.
The Virgin bless thine earthly store;
Increase thine honor more and more;
Be near thy friend with helpful deed,
But never thou his help to need.
God grant thee much of earthly bliss,
And may the saints thy forehead kiss.
May wine for friends abundant flow,
And children in thy household grow.
May God unite our house and land,
As we thus grasp each other's hand."

The Lazarovich-Hreblianovichs in their splendid book, *The Serbian People* (New York, Scribner, 1910, I, pp. 73-

74) give an account of *Pobratimstvo* and *Posestrimstvo:*

"An old Serbian custom still surviving in many districts is the adoption by two men or boys of each other as 'brother,' or by girls as 'sister,' or sometimes by two of different sex as brother and sister. The brother, in that case, would be a relative of the girl, too near in blood, according to Serbian usage, to marry or admit of any but fraternal affections between the two. It would be sacrilege and illegal for them to marry. This system is and was the literal application of the Christian principle of 'brotherhood,' developed into an institution during the bitterest times of oppression by a foreign foe. The two young men going into battle bound themselves as brothers in ties of close fealty which endured through all trials. The oath of fidelity for life was sworn before the altar in the church and consecrated by the priest, and often sealed by the exchange of a drop of blood, drunk in a cup of red wine. If one died the surviving one was, in all respects, like a true brother to the family of his dead 'pobratim.' This tie is considered most sacred by Serbians and cannot be broken, no matter how severely it may be tried by any circumstances that may arise. It is recognized by a law conferring right of inheritance as well as family obligations. Milosh Obrenovich, of the war of Serbian liberation, was the pobratim of the Turkish commander Ali-Aga Sertchesma, a Mohammedan Serbian, who was afterward opposed to him in battle. When the aga's army vanquished, Milosh was a brother to him and protected his personal life, liberty and property, as he in similar circumstances protected Milosh's life."

The love of a sister for her brother among the Serbs is proverbial. Entire ballads are devoted to beautiful examples of such love. There is no greater and more solemn oath for a sister among the Serbs than that sworn by the name of her brother. Read *The Step-sisters* (Appendix No. 5).

Kumstvo is a very sacred relationship amongst the Serbs. They have a baptismal *kum* (Godfather) and a *Wedding Kum*, who is the principal witness at the wedding, and who has to be the Godfather to the children of the couple to whom he is the wedding kum.

In view of such good traits of Zadruga, where there is such a splendid division of labor, order and wonderful discipline, how is it possible to characterize the Serbs as "dull, lazy and dirty"? To quote Professor Tucich:

"Many people, and especially Germans, have said that the Serbs are dirty, lazy and dull. As regards the last of these accusations I am ready to admit that such Germans as have come in contact with the people may be excused for this impression. The Serbian peasant regards the 'Schwabo' [17] with extreme distrust. His natural shrewdness teaches him the wisdom of appearing as dull as possible before the unscrupulous exploiter he knows so well. It would be no advantage to him to inspire confidence in that quarter, and, as a matter of fact, the Serbian peasant has often got the better of the apostles of 'Kultur' by this little deception. English and French travellers, who have had dealings with the Serbs have spoken of them in most flattering terms. As regards the other two indictments, they are only absurd. The Serbian peasant works very hard indeed. If we consider the results of his labors, which can be gauged by the considerable export of farm-produce and cattle, and remember that in so poor a country as Serbia the farmer has not all the latest agricultural improvements at his disposal, it becomes obvious that he has achieved marvels by the industry of his bare hands. The dirt commented upon by his critics is nothing more than the honest dirt of the soil on his hands and clothes; but if the immaculate 'Michels' [18] had taken the trouble to glance round his house they could not have failed to notice that in cleanliness and neatness most Serbian farmhouses compare very well with the average farmhouse of

Western Europe. A guest of gentle birth, receiving hospitality in a Serbian farmhouse will certainly find nothing to complain of in the way in which he is fed and accommodated, and his wants considered. Of course there are cases of dirt and idleness in Serbia, but then where shall we find a country quite free from these . . .?"

Serbs are not afraid even of the criticism of Vicomte De la Jonquière (*Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1914, 2 volumes): "Of all the Balkan peoples, the most important and the most powerful were the Serbs: they seemed to have a great destiny before them; but this brave, poetic, careless, frivolous race never attempted to assimilate the remains of ancient culture, and incurred the hatred of the Catholic West, and the penalty of isolation."[3] Yes, time will show who is who. The Serbian peasant is industrious, peaceable and orderly; the vendetta, as it exists in Albania and Macedonia, and the use of a knife in quarrels, so common in southern Europe, are alike unknown. He possesses in a remarkable degree the qualities of patience, perseverance and endurance with the capacity for laborious effort peculiar to an agricultural people.[19]

Montenegrin "Bratstvo"

The Bratstvo of Montenegrins (who are Serbs by language, religion and customs) is based almost on the same principle of independent spirit as Zadruga and Mir. Bratstvo occupies, according to its size, one or more villages; and church, cemetery, meadows and mills are held in common. Several Bratstvos (brotherhoods) compose a *Pleme* (tribe, pl. *plemena*), and *Rod* (relationship). According to Rovinsky two or four households connected by ties of blood are called *Trbushchini* (diminutive for *trbuch*, stomach) in Vasoyevich tribe, whilst more than four families are called Trbuch.[20] Among the Slavic peoples brotherhood remains

than any other nation in the senate house. Montenegrins have only one prison and this is empty because crime is unknown in Montenegro; but if a Montenegrin involuntarily makes a crime he goes alone to this prison, whose door is always open, and he stays here until his own conscience tells him that it is enough, telling the officials where and how long he was, and what crime did he commit. Every court and all the people are satisfied with that, and afterwards they again live mutually, nicely, peacefully and in accord." (See his *Montenegro—a Sketch—Gleanings*, vol. IV, London, new edit., 1912.)

These statements of the famous English statesman are corroborated by many Slavic students of the Montenegrins, such as Medakovich, Ljuba Nenadovich, Milutinovich, Rovinsky, Duchich, Tomanovich, Ruvarac, Vladimir Gjorgjevich (1913), Gjonovich and Bozovich, etc.

Conclusion

To conclude. What is said about the Russian and Serbian co-operative social-economical ideals may be also said about co-operative instincts of other Slavic tribes—Poles, Slovaks, Slovenes, Bulgars and Czechs. (See: The Polish Peasant, in *Free Poland*, II, Aug. 1, 1916, 7; *A. M. Jasienski*, Peasants in Poland, *Ibid.*, II, March 1, 1916, 12; *A. S. Syski;* The Peasants and Nobility of Poland, *Ibid.*, II, Feb. 16, 1916, 4.) The Russian sociologist, Bakunin, is right when he says that the Slavs "are and always have been socialistic, because they live under the régime of communal property." [24] This socialism is based on the Slavic instinct for co-operation (what Maeterlinck, writing of Bees, calls the Spirit of the Hive). But this Slavic socialism is, however, inspired by a high human, moral and religious notion, and not only by the economic reasons of the present socialism, especially that in Germany. Socialism of the Slavic

peasant and workingman, speaking in the broader sense of the word, is a democracy of regenerated Christianity. The orientation of the so-called "intelligenzia" or "intelligent" class among the Slavs (i. e., the progressive and radical wing of Russia's educated class, which is much more numerous and influential than people think) is somewhat different, of course. It is "Western" in the sense that it is imbued with current European ideas as to politics, economics, law, religion, education, art, holding the emancipation of the common people from their misery and ignorance to be its principal task and which opposes the existing institutions of political and social control. The Russian *Mir*, *Artel*, *Svietelka;* the Serbian *Zadruga*, *Moba*, *Pozaymitza*, *Esnaf*, and *Bratstvo* are not creations of a day, nor are they as mechanical as the doctrine of the socialists who believe exclusively in the economic doctrines of Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lasalle or F. E. Engels, according to which everything, even art, science, religion, culture, depends only upon the economic conditions of a nation.

That the Slavs are a civilized race is shown by the fact that the jury was an ancient Serbian institution before its general use in civilized Europe. The Serbian ruler himself was never above the law, and could be used in those courts of justice by the humblest of his subjects. The whole measure of the protection of the individuals and the right of redress insured by the laws and their effective execution in *mediæval* Serbia was in favor of the common people and had special solicitude for the humbler member of society. The Serbian ruler did not have the power to decide for war or peace. And the confiscation of property, so common in Western Europe, lay alone in the power of the sovereign of Serbia, and was restricted by the laws to punishment for high treason, robbery, resistance to execution of a judicial order, and the forgery of public documents. Serbia never was feudal. Slavery was absolutely unknown in all epochs

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he camp the following national mission of the Polish people:

"War is abhorrent to Heaven, a sin against mercy, a stain a Christian nations." But a war against Turkish barbarism must be expected. "God put the Polish people on horseback, and turned their breasts eastwards; by that same act He wed them His will and their calling. He knew why He hose us for that position and put others behind our shoulders; hence, if we wish to fulfill His command and our mission with worthiness, we must face that vile sea and break aves with our bosoms."

In another place he says:

"Now I know why this Polish people was created. . . . t is only when the pagan sea swells, when that vile dragon pens its jaw to devour Christianity and mankind, when the Roman Cæsar and all German lands are shivering in front of this avalanche that I learn why God created us and imposed on us this duty. The Turks themselves know this. Other men may tremble, but we will not, as we have not trembled thus far; so let our blood flow to the very last drop, and let mine be mixed with the rest of it."

Victor Hugo did not make a mistake when he said openly: "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization, Poland was its knight."

The Slav loves political freedom almost to the point of anarchy. Professor Brückner in his *History of Russian Literature* (p. 1) calls the Russians born anarchists. Prof. Masaryk (in his *Soziologische Skizzen*, Prag, 1879) claims that the Russians are not more anarchistic than other races but that their democracy is negative and preferably non-political. Those who do not gain first-hand information about the Slav call him "born anarchistic," because he is a hater of all cant, conventionality, and restriction to freedom. Palatine Pozanski, father of the Polish King, Grand Duke of Lorraine, said: "*Malo periculosam libertatem quam*

quitum servitium," i. e., I prefer even a dangerous freedom to a quiet imprisonment. Such an attitude is just the opposite to the ideal of the old Greeks, because when Odysseus, meeting Achilles as the leader of dead heroes in the nether world, extols his glory among the dead, the latter replies: "Rather would I in the field as daily laborer be toiling slave to the meanest of men, a pauper and lacking possession, than 'mid the infinite hosts of long-vanished mortals be ruler."

In foreign lands, people, often say nowadays, "Poland is divided; her people do not know what they want," etc. A well-known French historian once said: "Poland is not interesting. It is all very romantic when it is persecuted, but as soon as its affairs begin to mend it simply becomes commonplace. It is moving in the same direction as Russia." Another writer considers that Poland is reactionary and that her methods lack humanity. But all such reproaches are contradictory to the facts of Slavic history and psychology. (See: *A. J. Zielinski,* "The Polish Anarchy," in *Free Poland,* III, Nov. 16, 1916, 5-7; *Liberum Veto and the Pacta Conventa, Ibid.,* I, June 1, 1915, 9; *Poland Tolerant, Ibid.,* III, Nov. 16, 1916, 12; *In the Role of Sicinski, Ibid.,* III, March 15, 1917, 8-9; *C. Snogor,* The Polish Veto, *Ibid.,* II, March 1, 1916, 2-4.) It is a well-known historical fact that in Poland (she was the leading power of Eastern Europe from 1400 to 1600, and now "the Mary Stuart of Nations") each delegate had the right of *liberum veto* ("*Nie pozwalam,*" I forbid), i. e., the right to forbid, by his single vote, any measure in the Polish Diet.[27]

When foes of the famous John Sobieski ("the deliverer of Vienna from the Turks; 1629-1696) tried to crush the unanimous election of Sobieski as the national Polish King, and the people did not accept the adjournment of his election, he himself sprang to his feet shouting:

"To this I am opposed. Remember the nation for which you are about to choose a head—the freest on the face of the

earth. Such haste would ill accord with liberty. God forbid that I should accept a crown conferred at the expense of a single infringement of the public right, or by constraint or suppression of a single vote. I would rather remain a subject all my life, a thousand times rather, than the ruler over one of my fellow-citizens against his will. It would, indeed, be unworthy of me to ascend the throne in this furtive manner, at night-fall, and before any time had been granted for the reconsideration of so sudden a resolution. I demand that no further action be taken to-night, and in demanding this I declare that should there be no other dissenting voice, I will oppose it with my—*Veto.*" (In 1674, Sobieski, already distinguished for his victories over the Turks, becomes King of Poland. Even so must the Archbishop of Vienna have said of John Sobieski, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John.")

That the Poles are very democratic Slavs is admitted even by the noted German Field-Marshal in the Franco-German War, Count von Moltke, in his book on Poland, where he says:

"Poland was a republic made up of about 300,000 petty suzerainties each of which was immediately connected with the state and was subject to the whole body alone, acknowledging no kind of superiority or of feudal dependence. No Polish noble was vassal to a superior Lord—the meanest of them appeared at the Diet in the full enjoyment of that power which belonged to all without distinction. It is here that we find that fundamental difference between the Polish Constitution and the feudal states of the West and the despotism of the East."

In 1430, the Poles secured the legal guarantee of personal liberty—*Neminem captivabimus, nisi iure victum,* preceding by two hundred and fifty years the act of *Habeas Corpus,* and by more than three hundred and fifty years the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* in 1789 in France. Dur-

ing the second half of the fifteenth century, the Poles gradually established a parliamentary form of government, and in 1573, they instituted a republican régime consisting of an elective system of kings. Civic liberty was united to a broad religious tolerance. Rulhiere, in his *History of the Anarchy of Poland*, says rightly, that Poland as a republic was "the first State in Europe to give example of tolerance. The mosques were erected alongside the churches and the synagogues. The republic had no subjects more faithful than the Mohammedan Tartars enjoying its protection; the Jews enjoyed practical autonomy and managed many of the estates of the noblemen, who were addicted more to factions than to economy. Poland, whose constitution never allowed her to be a conqueror, owed only to this tolerance her growth and the annexation of all the neighboring countries." In one of his recent articles, Kulakowski points out latent powers of co-operation in Polish people. He says: "George Bernhardt, the faithful and wise servant of Prussian Junkerism, wrote a whole work on the subject of Polish co-operations, another German, Cleinow, wrote a work of two volumes on the subject. In both of these studies, in spite of their fundamental hatred of the Poles, the authors cannot refrain from expressing their amazement and respect for the achievement of these Polish organizations, for the untiring and ceaseless energy of the Polish nation, and above all they express their fears for the future of Germany." All Slavs are liberty loving people. Czechs have been struggling for fifteen centuries in order to preserve this spirit of independence. In his book *The State* (1911, p. 740, quoted by A. Hrdlicka), President Woodrow Wilson says: "At least two among these many races (of Austria) moreover, are strenuously, restlessly, persistently devoted to independence. No lapse of time, no defeat of hopes, seems sufficient to reconcile the Czechs of Bohemia to incorporation with Austria. Pride of race and the memories of a notable

and distinguished history keep them always at odds with the Germans within their gates and with the government set over their heads. They desire at least the same degree of autonomy that has been granted to Hungary."

It is interesting to note here that the present King of Serbia, Peter Karageorgevich, fought gallantly in 1870 as a French officer, and as a young man translated Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* into Serbian, and for a generation he lived by preference in democratic Geneva (Switzerland). Under him Serbia has for the first time since the resurrection of the Serbian Kingdom after the fatal battle of 1389 [28] at Kosovo Polje been the focus of the democratic inspiration for the South-Slavs in every dimension. He proudly says: "We are peasants, but free peasants. I am King. I come from the people, but a heroic people who preferred bitter death to comfortable, shameful slavery. My grandfather was a peasant, and I am prouder of that than of my throne. Crowns are lost, but the pure, clean blood of those who have lived on the earth does not die out." King Peter or *Chicha Pera* (Uncle Peter) as he is called by the South-Slavs, stands as the embodiment of all Slavic democratic qualities. He combines the spirit of patriotism, of civic and national liberty and personal courage. He is called the crown president of South-Slavdom or Jugoslavija. (See also: *Aulneau, J.*, La Serbia et le roi Pierre Ier, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, Paris, XXI, 1911, 465-80; *R. Chambry, Pierre Ier*, roi de Serbie, P. Bloud & Gay, 1917, 46; King Peter of Serbia as a soldier: King Peter in the trenches and in exile ("Serbia and the Serbs," London, 1916, No. 4, pp. 4); The House of Karageorgevich and the Serbian Army. The Serbian People (*Ibid.*, 4); *La Renaissance*, Paris, 1916, published many articles about King Peter's democratic spirit. Eugène Choucary did the same.) It is also interesting to know that the Turkish word for liberty is "Serbeshtz," derived from Serb, and coined by the ceaseless strife of

Serbs for freedom, or as they call it—"*borba za krst chasny i slobodu zlatnu*" (strife for the cross of honour and for the golden freedom). In all true Serbian hearts the love of home, of liberty, the love of freedom from foreign dominion, is ingrained to such an extent that it has become proverbial amongst all nations, till it has become a proverb, "*Freedom is a Serb's birthright.*" "Rather death than slavery" is the national device of the Serbs. The Balkan French, this little people of Slavic birth, has given many men of fighting Serbian stock, as were also the German composer, Josef Haydn (1732-1809), the Magyars Lájos Kossuth (d. 1894), Francis Deak (d. 1876), the greatest of Hungarian poets, Sándor Pettöffyi (whose real name was Alexa Petrovich, 1823-1849), the Hungarian king John Zapolya (born at Zapolya on the Serbo-Bosnian frontier), George Castriota or Kastriotovich (*Skander-Beg*, "Alexander the Great," 1443-1468), an Albanian chief of Serbian origin who successfully fought with great heroism for the liberty of Albanian or Arbania, Turkish Vezier Mehmed beg Sokolovich (his brother, Makarije, was a Serbian Patriarch), Fidant and Husein beg Gradashchevich, Ali aga Dadich, Ali-paša Rizvanbegovich, Hadži Loja, Salih aga Forte, etc.

Slavic history shows many notable instances of the rise of persons from the lowest to the highest estate, ability being placed above birth, and talent preferred to noble descent. Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro may claim the honor of possessing a native dynasty unplagued by German relations, as is the case in other Balkan States (Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Albania). Their Royal Houses have sprung from the people, and neither country has ever been ruled by a foreign prince.[29]

Prof. Tucich rightly says: "The Serb is a straight-dealing, industrious man, and like all the Southern Slavs, essentially poetic. Judged by the standard of modern *school* education the average Serbian peasant is perhaps not so

very far advanced, and usually limits his accomplishments to reading and writing; but he is keenly observant, and his natural gifts and mother-wit are so great as to warrant a very different forecast for his future than exponents of German 'Kultur' have so far predicted. Like the Russian and the Kroat, the Serb is above all things a farmer, who loves his bit of black earth, and cultivates it with care; and from this love of the soil spring his pleasures, his shrewd philosophy, his large charity towards man and beast, and, above all, his love of truth and justice. Shall not all the world be just, even as the earth is just when she bestows or withholds her gifts? From time immemorial the Serb has had a great feeling for family ties and the bond of the community. The love he bears his own homestead he extends to that of his neighbor, and then in a wider sense to his whole country. Where his love of country is concerned, political and economic considerations take a second place. The Serb loves his country as a bridegroom his bride—passionately, often unreasonably, but never with calculation. He desires his beloved land for himself—to keep it untouched by strangers. In spite of considerable business capacity he is not aggressive, and does not covet his neighbor's possessions. But, should his neighbor dare to move his fence even one inch over the boundary, or purposely let his cattle stray into his meadows, then the Serb becomes fierce, wrathful and unforgiving."

Even if we admit that the Russian Mir, Artel, Svietelka, or the Serbian Zadruga, Moba, Pozaymitza, and Esnaf, or the Montenegrin Bratstvo represent a "chaos," it may be that in time there will emerge from that chaos of civic ideals a culture and a civilization, which will make the best of both worlds by adopting Western methods without surrendering an inch of the Slavic nation's spiritual territory, above which floats, no doubt, the standard of Religion, Simplicity, and Brotherly Love.

have a saying that until a man marries he is only half a man, and their reverence for parents almost recalls patriarchal times, from which the Serbian Zadruga and Bratstvo, and the Russian Mir are very distinct survivals. The women in Zadruga, for instance, are submitted to the *stareshina's* wife, and this was especially the case in Montenegro. Before the death of *stareshina* it was usually ascertained which of the members enjoyed the greatest confidence, and he was acknowledged the new head of the Zadruga, often without even going through the formality of an election. But sometimes the members of a Zadruga placed in this position of authority an energetic and wise woman, and she was the *stareshina* whom every one obeyed. The women of a Zadruga were on duty (i. e., to cook for the whole house, etc.) at special times and in a certain order. Vladislav R. Savich in his above cited book points the humanitarian trait of the Slavic women and their common sense in matters of domestic science. Paulus Diaconus, the well-known historical writer of the eighth century, "relates how his grandfather was made prisoner by the Avara in Pannonia, but managed to escape and fled through Slavonia to Italy. On his journey through the forest he found no food and fell exhausted to the ground. Fortunately a Slavic woman from a neighboring village found him, and although he, being a Longobard, was considered an enemy, she, pitying his state, took him to her house and kept him many days. And when he had recovered his strength she led him through the forest and showed him his way. It is not without interest to note that this Slav village woman had some sound knowledge of medicine, as during the first days, when he lay utterly exhausted, she gave him no solid food but only milk and soups. This was more than was known to a contemporary Byzantine general, who on arriving in Italy gave his starving troops solid food, which caused wholesale death in their ranks." (p. 44-45).

Marriage is a sacred matter among the Slavs, and legalized by the Church only. The Church alone, and that in rare cases, could pronounce divorce, a usage which still obtains among the modern Serbs, Russians, etc. According to Tolstoy's *My Religion* (1884), which agrees with the condemnation of divorce according to the books of Matthew (XIX), Mark (X), Luke (XII) and Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, marriage is indissoluble.[3] Nothing, not even a wife's unfaithfulness, authorizes a man to abandon her, and if he put her away he cannot marry another without himself committing the crime of adultery. The present divorces cannot be stopped by Free Love, according to the Slavic conception of marriage, but by education and the joining of those who were meant to be joined.[4] Tolstoy's character Natasha loves Pierre Bezukhov, not with the fanciful love which she felt for Andrei nor the mad passion which Kuragin inspired in her, but with a pure, moral affection, founded on esteem on the similarity of thoughts and feelings. (Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* deals with the unlawful relations of the social lion, Vronski, and Anna, wife of Karenin, the bureaucratic machine. The great problems of human life which centre around marriage are treated here with unapproachable mastery, force and directness. In 1899 Tolstoy published his *Resurrection*. The central figure, Nekhlyudov, while acting as a juror, recognizes in the culprit the woman whom he had betrayed in his youth. Torn by remorse, he finally comes to the conclusion that he is the real cause of the woman's guilt and downfall, and wishes to expiate his former wrong-doing by accompanying her—*Flava coma*—to Siberia and sharing with her all hardships of the exile. All the bitterness that had been collecting in the heart of the writer seems to have found free utterance, and the work is a powerful arraignment of all existing institutions.)

Slav people value the experience of a *Hausfrau* far above

the beauty of a girl. The ideal of the Slavic woman is to be true to her husband. Pushkin in his *Eugene Oneguin* describes a scene of love. In a country place, where Oneguin has retired for the sake of solitude, he meets the artless love of a young girl (Tatiana) living in a neighboring manor-house. He is bent to look down upon her, but she takes the initiative and writes to him, offering her love. Oneguin is not touched, and says to her: "I am not the man for you." They part for several years. When they meet for the second time, the scornful hero finds himself in the presence of a fair princess, flanked by a gouty husband and surrounded by a circle of admirers. He recognizes Tatiana, and this time it is he who writes. She replies in her turn: "I love you,—feigning would be useless,—but now, Oneguin, I am another's, and will be true to him for life."

Sienkiewicz's Amiela concludes the debate with her lover by saying: "I can not argue with you, because you are so much cleverer than I, but I know that what you want me to do is wrong; I will not do it." Professor Phelps points to a simple-hearted Polish girl, by name Marynia (in Sienkiewicz's *Children of the Soil*, 1894) who is married to a man far superior to her in intellectual ability and school-training, as so often happens in Slavic fiction. Marynia cannot follow the intellectual flights of her husband, and does not even grasp the process of his mentality. She has no gift for any metaphysical discussion, and no knowledge of modern scientific investigation, but although her education does not give a comparison to that of her husband, she has, without suspecting it, mastered the great art of life,—because she is a devout and sincere Christian soul, meek and lowly in heart. Her husband at last recognizes that while he has more learning, she has more wisdom; and finally we see him a pupil at her feet. Yes, all his vain speculations are overthrown by the power manifested in the purity, peace, and contentment of his dear wife's daily life, and now, he

too

"Leads it companioned by the woman there
To live, and see her learn, and learn by her,
Out of the low, obscure and petty world . . .
To have to do with nothing but the true,
The good, the eternal—and these, not alone,
In the main current of the general life,
But small experiences of every day,
Concerns of the particular hearth and home:
To learn not only by a comet's ruse
But a rose's birth—not by the grandeur, God—
But the comfort, Christ."

The influence of the ideal Lydia on Vinicius in Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis* [5] is, with a totally different environment, precisely the same as the influence of Marynia on her husband.

Mickiewicz's *Dziady* (*In Honor of Our Ancestors*) is his own story of his unfortunate love. This poem was never finished, and whatever remains is written in the spirit of Goethe's *Werther*. The hero of *Dziady*, however, is vastly superior to the sickly mentalitist of Goethe in that he recognizes the guiltiness of his "grande passion."

Mickiewicz's *Gracyna*, who led an army on horseback, has had successors in this century.

Professor L. Wiener of Harvard University claims that "Mere romantic love has played a very inconsiderable part in Russian literature since the days of Karamzin. A far more important function is ascribed to sympathy, pity, charity, to the spiritual aspects of love than to that which, in spite of the etherealization by poets and novelists, is primarily a manifestation of the sexual instinct. If Tolstoy generally represents the young women who fall in love as carried away by mere infatuation, which lasts only as long as the object of love is near, he depicts the characteristic Russian girl, to whom romantic love has not that element of permanency which the Western poets assume for prenuptial love. But no author has surrounded motherhood with

such an aureole of glory, and even the temperamentally changeable and fickle girls are by him depicted as abandoning themselves to the animal instinct of maternity. The single-minded, well-balanced girls of the Anglo-Saxon type, such as Sonya in *War and Peace*, have no attraction for him, not because he does not believe in the spiritual development of woman, but because the intellectual women in Russia have so far departed from the instinctive virtues which characterize the masses, that it appears to him more important to accentuate these sides of the feminine nature which do not have their roots in the intellect. It is a notorious fact that the marriages of the intellectuals have seldom been happy in Russia, and Tolstoy is only voicing a national conviction that it is not the intellect alone that determines women's progress and that the masses have as much to teach about woman's destiny as they have to learn about her mental education. Russia has had no lack of highly cultured and learned women, but the future of the country depends in a far greater degree upon the average woman of the masses."

Liza in Turgenyev's *A House of Gentlefolk* is "the best impersonation possible of the average thoroughly good and honest Russian girl of the times," says Prince Peter Kropotkin.

Hobart says that the Serbian peasants have a principle of one girl, one dress. The Serbian proverbs say: "The woman homes the home," "Where there is no wife there is no home," "The face of a wife shows what her husband is, the shirt of the husband shows what his wife is" (i. e. healthy, bright and cheerful face of a woman shows that she is happy with her husband, while a clean and fine shirt of the husband shows that he has a good wife who takes care of his personal appearance), etc. Nickolas Nekrasov,[6] who has immortalized Princess Trubetskoy and Princess Volkonsky in two long poems (*Russian Women*), gives also the following description of the Slavic ideal of woman:

PRINCE PETER A. KROPOTKIN

The great Russian philosopher, scientist, humanitarian.

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"In many a Russian hamlet we may find such women,
With quiet earnestness of face,
With a grace of strength in their every movement,
As they go by with royal gait and queenly look,
With beauty that even the blind may see,
And those who see it will mutter to themselves,
Such bring sunshine with them wherever they come."

Nekrasov says that this ideal of the Russian peasant woman is equal to the Russian peasant in every dimension:

"The paths all our people are thronging
They follow,—the same course pursue;
From slime to their low lot belonging,
Their stains are of far lighter hue."

And after extolling the health and beauty of the ideal of the Russian peasant woman, her ability to do man's work, her cheerfulness and yet extreme earnestness, her conviction that the labor is all salvation, Nekrasov closes his poem (*Red-Nosed Frost*) with a picture of her full-blossomed motherhood and deep religious feeling:

"This woman goes forth Sunday morn
To mass, all her family guiding:
Is sitting a child, two years born,
On her bosom, and there it is hiding;

Besides her the neatly dressed mother
Is leading her six-year-old boy.
This picture,—like many other,—
All friends of Russ folk will enjoy."

But a Slavic woman, even if she is a princess, is patriotic —in the sense that she will rather die than marry a foreign prince who is the enemy of her people. There are interesting legendary types among the Poles, for instance, that of Wanda (see: *Wanda*, in *Free Poland*, I, June 1, 1915, p. 20), Daughter to Krakus, the Polish Beowulf, who preferred death in the waters of the Visla (Vistula) to marriage

Serbian ballad, entitled *The Abduction of the Beautiful Iconia*, which I am giving here in full (in the translation of Sir John Bowring, published in his *Serbian Popular Poetry*, London, 1827):

"Golden wine drinks Theodore of Stalatch [20]
In his Castle Stalatch, on Morava;
Pours him out the wine his aged mother.
While the wine-fumes to his head were rising,
Thus his mother spoke unto the hero:
'Son of mine! thou Theodore of Stalatch!
Tell me, wherefore hast thou not espoused thee?
Thou art in thy youthful days of beauty:
In thy dwelling now thine aged mother
Fain would see thy children play around her.'
And he answer'd—Theodore of Stalatch—
'God is witness, O my aged mother!
I have roamed through many a land and city,
But I never found the sought-for maiden;
Or, when I found the maiden, found I never
Friendly feelings in thy mind towards her;
And where thou hast shown thy friendly feeling,
There I found the maiden false and faithless.
But, as yesterday, at hour of sunset,
I was wandering near Ressava's river,
Lo! I glanced on thirty lovely maidens
On its banks their yarn and linen bleaching:
'Midst them was the beauteous Iconia,
Fairest daughter of the Prince Miloutin,
He the princely sovereign of Ressava.
She, indeed, would be a bride to cherish;
She, indeed, were worthy of thy friendship;
But that maiden is betrothed already;
She is promised unto George Irene—
To Irene, for Sredoi, his kinsman.
But I'll win that maiden—I will win her,
Or will perish in the deed, my mother!'
But his mother counsell'd him and warn'd him—
'Say not so, my son! the maid is promised;
'Tis no jest! she is of monarch's kindred.'
But the hero cared not for his mother:

Loud he called to Dobrivoy, his servant—
'Dobrivoy! come hither, trusty servant!
Bring my brown steed forth, and make him ready—
Make him ready with the silver saddle;
Rein him with the gold-embroidered bridle.'
When the steed was ready, forth he hasten'd,
Flung him on his back, and spurr'd him onward
To the gentle river of Morava,
Flowing through Ressava's quiet levels.
And he reach'd Ressava's gentle river:
There again he saw the thirty maidens—
There he saw the beauteous Iconia.
Then the hero feign'd a sudden sickness;
Ask'd for help; and sped her courteous greeting—
'God above be with thee, lovely maiden!'
And the loveliest to his words made answer,
'And with thee the bliss, thou stranger-warrior!'

'Lovely maiden! for the love of heaven
Wilt thou give me one cup of cooling water?
For a fiery fever glows within me;
From my steed I dare not rise, fair maiden!
For my steed, he hath a trick of evil—
Twice he will not let his rider mount him.'

Warm and earnest was the maiden's pity,
And, with gentle voice, she thus addressed him:
'Nay! not so—not so, thou unknown warrior!
Harsh and heavy is Ressava's water;
Harsh and heavy e'en for healthful warriors;
How much worse for fever-sickening tired ones!
Wait, and a cup of wine will bring thee.'

Swiftly tripp'd the maiden to her dwelling;
With a golden cup of wine return'd she,
Which she reached to Theodore of Stalatch.
Out he stretch'd his hand; but not the wine cup,
But the maiden's hand, he seized, and flung her,
Flung her on his chestnut steed behind him:
Thrice he girt her with his leathern girdle,
And the fourth time with his sword-belt bound her;
And he bore her to his own white dwelling."

great lyric beauty,
sion that the Serbs were on
peoples in the Old Continent.
been translated into many
others collected the love son
quote two or three selections.
as follows:

"Whence getteth e
Love in his very
It grows not on t
It's hatched not
And were this love
On rocks as heav
We'd send our he
Yes, even if we d

The Czech expresses his love

"If I see thee, kneelin
In the church, my
I am far from God a
But to thee am nea
If I'd love my God i
As I now love thee,
I would saint or very
In His presence be."

Oh, what is love? a wild storm-cloud,
A weeping, drenching shower.
Oh, what is love? a scattered gloom,
A thousand glorious flowers in bloom
A glowing, burning fireball,
A giant held by chains in thrall,
A joyful, chiming wedding bell,
A dreadful chasm, a burning hell.
Oh, may thy love, thou dearest child,
Like spring winds be, so sweet, so mild!
Oh, reach to me thine angel hand,
And lead me to that heavenly land!"

R. H. Stoddard expressed beautifully the fiery love of the Serbian girl in his little poem entitled *A Serbian Song:*

"Mother, a dear little lad
  Alone through the night is creeping:
He has lost his way, and is sad;
  I hear him bitterly weeping.
I know he is coming to me:
Go to the door and see."

"Daughter, woman's undoing
Is to be won without wooing.
When she meets her lover half-way,
  He holds her favor light
As the cup he drains by day,
  Or the lamp he burns at night."

"Mother, no more,
  But open the door:
I have his heart, he mine;
  He must be housed and fed:
I will give him kisses for wine,
  And my eyes shall light him to bed!"

Serbians have a number of popular songs reciting with many variations the theme of the wedding of the sun or the moon with the morning star or dawn. A stereotyped name for the bride is *Danitza* (the morning star), and for

have generally the stereoty
pet name. No doubt, a poe
fairs by which the figurativ
spheres of the sky have b
names. Serbian popular p
the sun and the moon, and s
and *Sedmero Bratye* (The
Pleiades—otherwise known
Sedam Vlashitya. The Se
poems with reference to the d
known ballads begin thus: "
nitza: Where hast thou been?
much time?" And Danitza, in
variably relates to the Moon
night during her absence (usu
Turk or dishonourable conduc
to his brother or other relativ
of patrimony, etc.).

Among the more than one l
quote one from B. Petranovicl
lar songs, which relates how t
of his sweetheart:

We saw for you a maid as handsome as pearl;
Her hair was fragrant with sweet-smelling blossoms—
Oh, would that the flowers were for me!
The jealous anger possessed the morning star,
And she sped in rage over the sky."

The story runs along so plausibly that one cannot tell by reasoning what is signified by the invocation of these higher beings; in other words, with all its clearness it is quite obscure. But the learned mythologists easily do away with all difficulties, and apply their explanations with the greatest satisfaction. Parallels are easily drawn from Greek, Roman, Indian, Anglo-Saxon or Lithuanian mythology. The stereotyped conclusion of the mythologists is drawn to the effect that a people that entertain such speculations must have had a high degree of culture, and have been of equal birth with the oldest civilized nations.[11]

To turn a moment to science of statistics again: Russia gives a good example of an agricultural community with communistic arrangements under which marriage is easy and undertaken at a youthful age, as is indicated by the following tables, giving the percentage of bridegrooms and brides by Age Classes:

No.	Countries	Percentages of Bridegrooms by Age Classes			
		Under 20 years	20–30	30–40	Above 40
1	*Russia*	*37.8*	*43.9*	*11.8*	*7.4*
2	Prussia	0.6	67.2	22.6	9.6
3	Bavaria	0.2	55.5	30.0	14.3
		Percentages of Brides by Age Classes			
1	*Russia*	*58.0*	*33.2*	*6.2*	*2.6*
2	Prussia	10.3	69.7	14.9	5.9
3	Bavaria	6.4	64.8	20.6	8.1

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especially in the rural distric
tenegro, the unfaithful wife is
and in former times punished v
Der Verkehr der Geschlechte
gegensätzlichen Erscherinunge
186-93, 271-79, 320-5.)

That the Slavic women are
Professor H. A. Miller, who
"Universal suffrage must be
mocracy. Enough has already
corded to women by the Slav to
not be an innovation among then
tive assemblies of Bohemians att
have shown themselves quite the
there has never been any sign of
the men.

"The first gymnasium for wom
by Bohemians. In 1912 they elec
of any Diet in Austria. In Amer
ently advocated equal suffrage l
present popularity. A slight weak
at the present is due to the comp
tion question. In what —

strong influence.

"In Russia the best evidence of the recognition of women is found in their prominence as revolutionists. There they have been quite as prominent as men and have already been recognized as equals. The assured superiority felt by the men in England, as witnessed by the suffrage difficulties, will not be found in Russia. The average American has certainly heard the names of at least twice as many Russian as German women."

Female writers are not very uncommon among Slavic nations, as it is shown in this work. Sophia (1657-1704), the sister of Peter the Great, was acquainted with French, and translated some of the plays of Molière. The same may be said of Catherine the Second, who wrote *Great Institutions* and *Aufsätze betreffend die russische Geschichte* (Riga, 1787 2 vols.).

Princess Trubetskoy, Princess Volkonsky, Princess Dashkov (Mémoires of Princess Dashkov, by Mrs. W. Bradford, London, 1846), Princess Dolgoruski, Princess Galitzin, Olga Novikov, Madame Elagin, Sophia Soymonov Svechine (1782-1857), Madame Gan, Zhadovsky, Marko Vovchok (that is, Madame Eugenia Markovich), Bryullov, Evreinov, Maria Bochkareva (organizer of "Battalion of Death"), Maria Spirindonova,[13] Marie Luklov, Khvoshchinski, Marie Bashkirtzev, Sofya Petrovskaya (born 1854: in 1881 hanged as a revolutionist; see: *P. A. Kropotkin*, La verité sur le exécutions en Russie, suivie d'une esquisse biographique sur Sophie Petroskaya, Genèva, 1881, 29), Sofya Bardin, Anna Pavlova Korba, Madame Bogomolets, Madame Kovalevskaya (sister of one of the best political economists in Russia), Praskoviya Ivanovskaya, Tatiana Lebedova, Nadezhda Smirnitskaya, Antonia Lisovskaya, Anna Takimova, "Mother" E. *C. V. Breshko*-Breshkovskaya (she is one of the outstanding figures in the Russian revolution, whom Kerensky liberated at the age of 73 after 30 years' exile in Siberia;

women, and the last cent
names of women who ha
Some of them are most re
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and political athletes. (S
of Free Russia, in: *The R*
11-15.) In 1779 Princes
Münster, and gathers roun
Catholics of Germany. In
Catholic, largely due to the
1814 Madame de Krudner l
influence over the Tzar. I
this lady, the Tzar forms th
and Prussia for the appreci
to politics. Many Slavic wom
Napoleon himself was infatua
of Polish women. (See: Du
Esquisse historique, Paris, 19
in: *Free Poland*, I, May 16, 1
March 16, 1916, 11-12).

Even if we admit that the
ideal of equality of sexes, the
acknowledge with the greate
the prin[illegible]

question of love or of action, of doing good or of finding the right way. In one word: she is fond of putting herself forward, to be delicate, brave and chaste. Or to use the words of Alder Anderson: "Essentially feminine, she is yet virile in more than one sense. For instance, she can find an intense interest in abstract causes, and will sacrifice her whole existence for the cult of a theory or an idea. Even as a school girl she takes a vital interest in questions which are generally outside the ken of the ordinary woman. Her great ambition is to work in the cause of humanity, of progress, of the general good. At an age when girls in other countries are entirely self-centered and content to lead a trivial and self-complacent existence, the average middle-class Russian girl is eager to devote herself to some humanitarian cause that has no bearing on her own life. Briefly, she has an infinite capacity for enthusiasm." (See: London *Wide World Magazine*, July, 1916, p. 251.)

In one word: Slavic women have, on the whole, a distinct individuality, and possess characteristic features that their Western sisters lack. Heroism and self-secrifice is the verdict of history on the Slavic woman for a thousand years.

CHAPTER XXI

SLAVIC IDEAL OF NATIONAL UNITY

(*Slavic Nationalism*)

NATIONAL unity is, it is said, not a Slavic virtue at the present time nor throughout the period covered by history. Professor John W. Burgess (*Political Science and Comparative Constitution*, New York, Ginn & Co., 1890) condemns the Slavs as being essentially unpolitical, as being unable to rise beyond the clan or the community organization. He points out especially their "lack of political consciousness" (vol. I, pp. 31, 32), and as a cure for it recommends "Cæsarism" (I, p. 32). But we have to take into account the long story of Slavic peasantry, which is nothing more but a melancholy history of trial, sorrow, suffering, and despair.[1] When Gogol says (in his *Dead Souls*, 1842),[2] "We Russians have not the slightest talent for deliberative assemblies," we have to take into account the fact that to the Slav the main thing is not so much the routine of parliamentary rule as the spirit, heart, *motif*, of the parliamentary work. In Western Europe people still believe in legal institutions and constitutional guarantees; in Russia people believe in men and their conscience, and when Tolstoy has been asked—at the end of 1914—what he thought about the most recent constitutional movement in Russia, he answered: "America, England, France and Germany have the constitution, and yet their moral crisis is getting severer, more than ever. . . ." Tolstoy saw the disruptive political forces in the first Duma and was, therefore, opposed to it, as

inimical to the Russian nation. In that respect modern Slavs are perhaps closely related to the old Scythians, who did not stick so much to the laws as to the inner dispositions (or to use Wundt's psychological term *Anlagen*), which are much older (i. e., surer) than the intellect. Justine (II. 2) said this about the Scythians: "Justice is cultivated by the dispositions of the people, not by the laws." Professor Maksim M. Kovalevsky, in his *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia* (London, 1891, pp. 103, 143, 144), points out this democratic way of Russian laws. Whenever the *posadnik* (the supreme judge elected by the people) had to decide a case to which no existing law applied he must consult the assembly of the people. Cases of high treason were referred to the popular assembly at Novgorod, just as they were in Poland and Bohemia. The statute of Vinodol shows that the early laws of the South-Slavs were codified in 1288 from old customs preserved in memory, and even to-day the regular tribunal of the Russian (Volost) villages, giving judicial decisions in civil suits, and misdemeanors among the peasantry, is not bound to follow the law, but those of custom. About the end of the ninth century, the Drevlians are related by the chronicle to have on one occasion "thought in common with their prince Mal," and decided "to slaughter the son of Rurik, Egor."

It is interesting to note what an American author thinks about the Czech efficiency in national politics. R. H. Vickers, in his *History of Bohemia* (Chicago, 1894, p. 310), says: "The fixed rights, the firm institutions, and the unfailing gallantry of Bohemia during eight hundred years had constituted a strong barrier against the anarchy of the darkest ages. The manly independence and the solicitude for individual political rights always exhibited by the Bohemian people have rendered them the teachers of nations; and their principles and parliamentary constitution have gradually penetrated into every country under heaven. They pro-

of the personal policy of several
One of the earliest rulers of B
daughter, Libusa, inherited the p
same to Neklan. These were perso
of Bohemia.

The pious Duke Wenceslas, the
Saint of Bohemia, tried peaceful
Germans which was more or less h
to avoid the shedding of blood, an
Emperor. Boleslav II went down
Pious.' Charles IV (1346-1378) 'the
manlike instinct which tells a man w
With this policy he accomplished the
bloodshed, extended the territory o
and showed that much more can be
the drawn sword.

But it was *Georges of Podiebrad*,
Bohemia (1458-1471), who in the mi
posed a league of princes of Europe
tribunal to avert devastating wars. I
foundation of a strong confederacy o
that by means of treaties with neighb
peace might be established. *He claime*
be settled in a special court, and not
The honest endeavors of King Geo
frustrated by Pope Pius II (1405; 1458
had lived in Bohemia. Pius II (Aen
opposed to King George on account o
to Rome. Nevertheless the project of
the first known attempt of this kind.
In 1621 Bohemia became a hereditary
the House of Habsburg. Ferdinand II
tion was to keep the unusually rich ki
family and of the future successors to h
ocratic people of

had to be raised by a special form of polygamy, not legalized directly, but tolerated nevertheless. A man able to support two wives could marry one to his right hand, and another to his left hand.*

The Empire had at that time an unusually able statesman, a real diplomat, the Bohemian Count Wenceslas Anton Dominik de Kaunitz-Rietberg (1711-1794), who was chancellor of the Empress Maria Theresa. Kaunitz, since 1764 a prince of the Holy Empire, was an ardent Bohemian patriot fully devoted to his Sovereign. He detested Prussia which he regarded the greatest enemy of the House of Austria and of the hereditary provinces. But in his attitude of 'hate' Kaunitz was not blind. He belonged to the school of physiocrats, was a deep student of sociology, tolerant, extremely liberal, and a friend of sweeping reforms. He possessed great abilities, a perspicuous method of transacting business and explaining the most complicated affairs, an accurate knowledge of the state of Europe, and an indefatigable zeal for the service of his imperial mistress. To these qualities were added incorruptible integrity, skill in negotiation, impenetrable secrecy, profound dissimulation, and a semblance of candor and openness by which he acquired the confidence of those with whom he treated, even while opposing them. His contemporaries regarded him 'the greatest of Diplomatists, a man sparing of words, and sparing even of looks.' His power in the State was almost omnipotent, and Maria Theresa did whatever her 'well beloved' chancellor desired.

Shortly after the end of the Seven Years' War *Kaunitz proposed demobilization.* He had conferences with the ambassador of Prussia at the Imperial Court of Vienna, kept long *pourparlers,* and handed him even a written *aide memoire,* which is a document of great historical and diplomatic importance, and ought at least to be remembered.

Kaunitz insisted that large standing armies were as destructive to the vitality of the State just as an excessive number of convents and monasteries, and he believed that both institutions could be threatening the State with many and different evils. It was at Kaunitz's instance that the Emperor Joseph II confiscated the property of many monasteries and convents, and secularized the wealth of those orders which were not devoting themselves to education or the care of the sick.

The furthering of armaments and of mobilization was to Kaunitz a detestable contest of ambitious princes during times of peace. Kaunitz believed that it should be stopped by a gradual demobilization and disarmament. Taking the terms of the peace of Hubertusburg and Paris (1763) in consideration, Kaunitz further insisted that Prussia and the Empire, but chiefly the hereditary provinces of the House of Habsburg, could release three-quarters of their armies and keep only one-quarter in actual service. He proposed that each state should elect special commissioners who should be sent to other states. These commissioners should control the military activity of the signatories of the treaty to be

* It was chiefly King Frederick Wilhelm II of Prussia who connived at the practice of these marriages. He himself contracted two marriages to his left hand with Mlle de Voss and Countess Doenhoff. *The Allgemeines Preussisches Landrecht II, 1.* 835, etc., and II, 2. 555 speaks of the marriage to the left hand. But to-day the meaning of these marriages has changed. They became the morganatic marriage quite different from the old 'marriage to the left hand.'

therefore, with the same faults, have accomplished a series of great heroic acts, and have given an example of wonderful perseverance in their efforts toward emancipation. It is a fact that Poland was the first state in Europe to possess a parliamentary form of government and that the Polish constitution allowed citizens to deny fealty to the King if he transgressed the rights of others. It is a fact that Poland had already introduced the principle of *habeas corpus* in the fifteenth century. And then, these same Poles, having grown in the school of sorrow, far from disappearing in the midst of their three age-long suffering under foreign yoke, developed in a prodigious manner, and justify their faith in their certain resurrection, a nation which does not wish to die (*une nation qui ne veut pas mourir*), for the Poles in many places still chant on bended knee:

"So long as we can live and sigh,
Our well-loved Poland cannot die." [8]

There is a reason when Heinrich Heine, in one of his poems (*Zwei Ritter, Romancero,* 1846-1850), says: "Pole ist noch nicht verloren" (The Pole is not lost yet). It is a fact that Poland was a republic when other nations were rigid monarchies. She had a relatively perfect system of national representation which was in conformity with her advanced political development. Yes, there was in Poland a Senate and a House of Representatives, as early as the latter part of the fourteenth century. Poland had her minor diets where representatives were chosen. Already in that early period Poland presented the closest prototype of the United States of to-day. (See: E. M. Lewinski-Corwin, *Political History of Poland,* N. Y., Polish Book Importing Co., 1917, 623+XII; Von der Brüggen, *Polens Auflösung,* Leipzig, 1878.)

It is a fact that the Slavs suffered not only from the conflict with external oppressors, but from the bitter conflict

one with another as is shown by many battles and encounters with the Russians, Serbs and Bulgars. John Ziska gives the following advice to his Czechs who demanded peace: "Fear internal more than external foes. It is easier for a few, when united, to conquer, than for many when disunited. Snares are hid for you; you will be entrapped, but it will not be my fault." Yet on the whole there is an undying unity among the different Slavic peoples in more or less marked degree. Professor Tucich rightly says: "A prominent characteristic of the Serb is his race-consciousness. Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Bulgars are first and only *Slavs* in a general sense. But the Serbs and Kroats are as much Slavs as they are Serbs and Kroats. Possibly this has not always been so. Perhaps, from being more oppressed and beset by foes than any of the other Slavs, these nations have come to look upon their sense of race as a sheet-anchor to which they clung, at first with hope, and then with heart-felt love. To a Russian, Slavdom is the symbol of his protectorate, but to a Serbo-Kroat it is the breath of life."

Long before the modern ideas of nationalism had awakened there were, no doubt, historical evidences of some measure of the race-consciousness among the Slavs. The Slovenes were the first among the South-Slavs to form an independent state, and in the seventh century they formed a great Slav Empire founded by Samo, "King of the Slavs" (this empire perished in 662). What happened later with this impulse of unity is indicated by V. R. Savich (p. 42): "In the beginning of the ninth century the Frankish state, penetrating into the basin of the Middle Danube, had subjected Southern Slav tribes also. At the hands of the German lords, who in the name of Charlemagne ruled the eastern parts of the Frankish empire, the Southern Slavs suffered every kind of humiliation and exaction. The chronicles say that the Slavs were permitted to eat only that which remained after the dogs of the Frankish lords had fed. They

revolted under the leadership of the Slavonian prince, Ljudevit Posayski, who formed a mighty Southern Slav state (818-823), which extended from the upper reaches of the Sava to the lower Danube and as far as Ljubljana (Laibach) beyond the river Timok, united in itself for a short time (818-823), as the Southern Slav tribes, which later were differentiated under the names of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." Chaslav T. Clonomirovich and Samuel also tried to establish a union of all the South-Slavic states. In the ninth century the Czechs (the only people who checked the progress of Charlemagne, and who later defeated Atilla, the "Scourge of God," in his sweep through Hungary into the present Germany, driving him and his ferocious Huns back, under the Carpathians), their Czech ruler, Svatopluk, King of "Great Moravia," who also tried to realize a political union of the Slavs, being also the sovereign of Great Moravia, a Slavic power of a territory reaching from what is now Prussia to the Adriatic Sea, but fell to the neighboring Slav state, that of the Czechs, known as Bohemia. The great Moravian duchy had extended its power over Bohemians, Poles and other peoples of Slavic blood, until it had come to represent more nearly, perhaps, than any power has done since, a *Pan-Slavic* combination. It extended along the frontier of Germany from the middle Elbe to the great plain between Danube and Theiss. It had become Christianized after its fashion, and had entered into a relation of semi-dependence upon the Frankish state. In the troublous times preceding the coming of Arnulf it had taken the advantage of the Frankish divisions to make itself practically independent, and now the reigning duke, Swatopluk, declined to recognize the overlordship of Arnulf. After this Norman victory, therefore, the king moved his army against Moravia (892), but succeeded only in laying waste the country far and wide, without bringing the duke to a battle. Another campaign two years later was carried on much in the same way and ended

with a defeat of the Bavarian contingent, the king himself barely escaping with a small following. Nothing but the death of the great duke in the same year, the division of the land between three sons, and the near approach of the dreaded race of the Hungarians on the southeast prevented Moravia from taking its place as one of the great controlling forces of mediæval Europe. As it was, its power declined with great rapidity, and it fell a prey to one conqueror after another. In the tenth century we see another Slavic attempt for unification under Boleslav the Great of Poland as king of the Slavs. This Polish confederation of Slavs overshadowed all the rest. Christianity has done something here, but nothing lasting. The bishopric of Posen, established in 968, had marked only an outward triumph of the Cross, and the general break-up which followed the death of the first great Polish king, Boleslav the Brave (992-1025, the Second Christian Ruler of Poland), the heathen influence had again risen into the ascendant. This was the opportunnity for Bohemia, and the duke of the moment, Bretislaw, was the man to grasp it. Under Ottoker IInd (1123-1178) Bohemia extended its boundaries almost from the Baltic to the Adriatic. E. Jordan, Charge de cours á la Sorbonne, says this about the Czechs and Slovaks (in his article published as a *Supplement* to number 81 of the *Bulletin of the Alliance Française*, 1918):

> The Czechs and Slovaks come into history in the second half of the nineteenth century. At that time they formed a part of the great Moravian Empire of Swatopluk. They were already coming into collision with the Germans. On the other hand, at the beginning of the tenth century, the Hungarian invasion destroyed the Moravian Empire, and cut off Southern Slavs from Northern Slavs. The eternal foes of the Slav race could already be seen at work.
>
> Since the tenth century, Bohemia, under her national dukes of the Przmyslid family, has been subjected to German influence. She received from Germany, Christianity according to the Latin

ritual, partly under compulsion; for Germany, religious propaganda has always been a means of political domination. The dukes felt the attraction of a civilization then superior to theirs; in exchange for the title of king, they allowed themselves to be incorporated into the Empire. Such was the policy, dynastic rather than national, but otherwise brilliant, pursued by the great Przmyslids of the thirteenth century, Ottakar I (1197-1230), who definitively acquired the royal title; Ottakar II (1253-1278), who conquered Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia; conquests which, if they had been preserved, would have thrown a bridge between Northern Slavs and Southern Slavs. But Bohemia was becoming half germanized. At the court, and among the nobility, German customs and speech were the fashion; the towns were filling with German merchants. Lastly, the working of the mines, and the clearing of the forests, caused the Germans to settle very thickly in the mountainous districts encircling Bohemia. Bohemian ethnology was beginning to assume the aspect which it has preserved. Some degree of national spirit still persisted, however, and Ottakar II contrived to appeal to it when setting out upon the struggle against the founder of the house of Austria, Rudolph of Hapsburg, in which he was to lose his life, and Bohemia her conquests. Witness his alliance with the Polish princes, founded, says the treaty itself, "upon nature and kinship of blood," witness his appeal to the Polish nation; "If Bohemia, your bulwark, is vanquished, those insatiable Germans will stretch out and seize you too with their greedy hands."

The foreign dynasty of the Luxemburgs, which was French as much as German, favored a Czech revival. It was chiefly the part played by Charles the IVth (1346-1378), German Emperor.

Under his successor Wenceslas begins the Husite movement, which it is not our business to judge from the religious standpoint, but about which it is essential to state that it was national as much as religious. It began with a reform of the statute of the University, in which the Czechs obtained the mastery, and from which the Germans emigrated.

Unfortunately the Czechs proved unable to preserve a national kingship, such as that which the reign of Podiebrad (1458-1471) was an interesting attempt to instate. In 1526, the States of the kingdom elected as king Ferdinand I of Hapsburg, brother to Charles the Fifth. A woeful day, which marked the beginning of denationalization!

Ferdinand I himself proclaimed his crown hereditary, and independent of the States. That was nothing, compared to the events of the seventeenth century. In 1618, Bohemia rose up against Ferdinand II. The latter, after gaining the victory at the White Mountain, in 1620, inflicted on the rebels the most terrible repression. Twenty-seven nobles were beheaded, six hundred and fifty-nine others were exiled; all their possessions were confiscated; adventurers came and formed a new nobility, in the place of the national nobility; the middle classes being also ruined, the Czech elements found themselves reduced to the level of the lower classes. The *New Constitution* established absolutism and secured official standing to the German language, concurrently with (and soon in preference to) Czech.

At least, Bohemia still remained Bohemia—a State united to the other domains of the Hapsburgs by a purely personal tie. The Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI, Maria-Theresa's act of 1749, the centralizing and germanizing reforms of Joseph II, and the adoption, in 1804, of the imperial title of Austria tended to deprive her of this last remainder of individuality.

Those who know something about the first ***Bulgarian Empire*** (893-1014) will admit that the Bulgars help also in that regard, as is shown by the historical facts, which are briefly summarized by Professor Tucich:

"In the ninth century the Bulgarian Empire reached from the Carpathians in Hungary to the Pannonian Valley, and, as a matter of fact, Budapest, the capital of Hungary, was founded by the Bulgars. The Bulgarian Tzar Boris was baptized by the apostles, Cyril and Method, who also introduced the Slav liturgy into Bulgaria. The Slav dialect spoken between Constantinople and Salonika was adopted as the literary language, and the *Glagolitza* (Glagolithic alphabet) and eventually the *Cyrillitza* (Cyrillic alphabet) were introduced. This fact is of world-wide importance, for on this foundation rests the whole subsequent intellectual development of Russia and the Balkan Peninsula—in fact, of Eastern Europe. Under Simeon the Great (893-927) Slav literature reached its zenith—its golden age. The Mora-

was soon overth
Basil II in the Battle of
garian Empire recovered
(1218-1271) and had reac
it was shattered for cer
(1391)." (Compare also:
Wolga-Bulgaren im 9. and
wiss. Kunde von Russland,"

Then, during the reigns c
first three Edwards, came Se
cal glory, and at the age wh
yet accomplished their unifica
century that Louis XIth unit
been broken up into several
This glory culminated in the
hero, Tzar Dushan the Might
bian Empire reached from the
to the Gulf of Corinth, and fr
on the frontiers of Thrace and
of Velbuzhd—1330—even the n
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claimed himself "the Tzar of the
made the Serbian Metropolitar
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first proof in history that the Southern Slavs have from the very beginning been the bulwark of Christianity, and thereby also the bulwark of European civilization.) Unfortunately, however, the Tzar Dushan Silni died on the way to Constantinople—some claiming that he died from fever in a small town (*Diaboli* or Devils) and the others say he was poisoned by a Greek. And when the Turks conquered the Serbians at Kosovo Polje (1389), the Serbs never could produce a Louis XIth, because there never was enjoyed during the fifteenth century a free and undisturbed period, during which there might have been accomplished the task of political unification. Prof. Tucich points out very rightly the great deeds of the Serbs of that age, when he says:

"Architectual and literary monuments from the age of the Serbian rulers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still clearly show traces of the high degree of culture that had spread from Byzantium, Venice and Florence. But these are merely sparks which the Serbian discriminative genius and natural ability would doubtless have kindled into a bright flame—had not the advent of the Turks frustrated the great plans of Dushan Silni. Constantinople would have remained in the hands of a Christian people who love art and progress. No other nation was so well fitted as the Serbs to infuse new life into the culture of the ancients. The presence of this sane and strong young nation would have saved the humanists their flight from Byzantium."

Kroatia, too, was an independent constitutional kingdom until the thirteenth century and attained to a very respectable degree of internal organization and civilization, always on purely Slavic lines. Under King Kreshimir the Great (1058-1073) the Venetians were driven out of the few Dalmatian cities they had seized and Kroatia then comprised what is now Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and a part of Istria, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. The kingly title had been bestowed upon the Kroat sovereigns since the

Bosnia. The year 1102,
in the history of Kroatia,
wars which ravaged the
of the native dynasty,
elect the Magyar king, Kol
reditary claim to the Kroa
who died in 1089. Kolomar
and Dalmatia, and by this ac
for the first time united. F
crown with that of Hungary
independence to the Hungari
Great (1342-1382), have not
preserving jealously their Slav

Another South-Slavic, Serb
became under Tvrtko (1353-13
towards the south and east. I
King Tvrtko conquered all Dal
to Spalato (Spljet) with the
Ragusa). Republic Ragusa [5] re
all the rest of the South-Slavs w
either by Turks, Magyars, or Ge
Ragusa had won her reputation,
markable literary and

Gion Palmotich (1606-1657), who attempts to identify the Dalmatian or Illyrian language (i. e., Serbo-Kroatian) with the Czech of Bohemia, which had been recognized by Charles the Fourth, in his Golden Bull (1355), as necessary for imperial princes to learn. Thinkers and poets of Ragusa gave to Napoleon the First the idea of a united Illyria,[6] whose genius, France, one hundred years ago, created Illyria, the first South-Slavic state on the Adriatic Sea. Napoleon, who treated most of the people he conquered without much consideration, was filled with unusual admiration for the South-Slavs (Slovenes, Kroats and Serbs) that came under his rule. By the treaties of Pressburg (1805) and Schönbrunn (1809), Napoleon Bonaparte obtained the whole of Dalmatia, Triest, Istria, Goricia, Gradishka, part of Carinthia, Carniolia, the Kroatian seaboard with Rieka (Fiume), and all Kroatia south of the river Sava. He united all these countries, which had been politically separated for centuries, under a single administration, and by the name of "Province of Illyria" thus for one short moment fulfilled the dearest wish of all the South-Slavs. Lord Byron pessimistically dreamed of the mountains and vales of Illyria:

> Clime of the unforgotten brave!
> Whose land from plain to mountain cave
> Was Freedom's home or Glory's grave.
> Shrine of the mighty, can it be
> That this is all remains of thee? . . .

Napoleon ruled in a liberal spirit, instilled new life into the soul of the South-Slavic nation and, most important of all, he introduced the use of native tongues in the schools and the administration, which was a blessing after a period of extreme Germanization, when the native language was ousted from the administration. Illyria was organized as one military province, and divided into six civil provinces. Although this French rule lasted only till 1817, it did more for the

... the prey of the Germ
Magyars battering upon
tion"—to use the fit expr
Berlin Congress (1878) th
styled himself, was able to
gary of Bosnia and Herzeg
inces. And to Bismarck is
"Austria-Hungary is a cow t
when she has grazed enough
of Germany." . . . A South
no greater misfortune has l
to pass under the dominion
Croatian Diet in 1861, Ban
of Croatia and Slavonia said
"I should prefer to see our pe
yoke than under the exclusive i
bors, the Germans. While th
property and often with the
the Germans, who are superior
conquered, also ask, besides
the soul of the people, i. e., th

In view of all of these facts i
ment that the Slavs have no
national sense

Dr. Bogumil Vošnjak

Slovene; one of the most active exponents of the South-Slavic unification; scholar, author.

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et ses Nationalities, Paris, 1859; *J. Du Bay*, The South-Slavic Federation, in: *Free Poland*, I, Dec. 5, 1914, 11-12; *J. Duhem*, L. Unité Serbo-Croate-Slovène, in: *Grande Revue*, Paris, vol. 90, 1916, 328-52, 533-44; *Ph. Lebesque*, L'Unité Serbo-Croate et le principe des nationalités; L'œuvre de Vouk St. Karadzitch, in: *Mercury de France*, Paris, 1916, v. 113, pp. 426-63; *A. Meillet*, L'Unité Slave, in: *La Nation Tcheque*, II, 1916, 51-2; *L. Eisenmann:* (1) La Solidarité Slave, Paris, 1916; (2) La Solidarite Slave, in: La Nation Tcheque, II, 1916, 197-200, 213-5, 246-8; The Aspirations of the Czechs, in: *Free Poland*, III, Nov. 1, 1916, 13-4). Let me summarize this question with the words of Professor Tucich:

"In the present crisis the Slav race is by no means seeking a return to the past. The past has seen the Slavs masters of a great empire and a real menace to the rest of the world. If one were to take the political map of Europe and indicate upon it the frontiers of the ancient Slav Empire, the Slav race would appear like an irresistible deluge. The huge Muscovite Empire, almost the whole of Austria-Hungary, the whole of the Balkans, two-thirds of the German Empire, part of Italy, and a large part of Scandinavia —all these once formed the Slav Empire. Historical maps show the single triumphant word 'Slavs' ('famous' or 'glorious' ones) inscribed over all these countries throughout the centuries. Their history and development can be traced back to 400 B. C.

"The Taurians that guarded the Golden Fleece were Slavs, as were the men of the Baltic with whom Phoenicians and Greeks traded for amber. The forest lands of the North, that grey home of magic, wisdom and valor, hang like a dark background full of strange possibilities behind sunny Greece and clear-headed, practical Rome—and this was the Empire of the Slavs in the past, the Gardiriki an Iotunheim (Giant-land) of the Norsemen. From one century to an-

other they played a part of increasing importance among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and were feared as a strong, homogeneous race. Their power reached its zenith towards the end of the fifth century, before the tidal wave of the Hun invasion swept over Europe. At that time they held the mastery from the Alps to the mouth of the Elbe, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They were then one great people divided into several tribes speaking slightly differing dialects; but only a fraction of their number—the inhabitants of the present Dalmatia—was subject to the Emperor Nepos. The invasion of the Avars, who took possession of a large strip between the Danube and the Dniester, made the first breach in the unity of the great Slavic family. Henceforth they were known as Northern, Eastern, and Southern Slavs, and began to form separate nationalities. In the age of Charlemagne these nationalities had already crystallized into independent states, whose power and prosperity are recorded in history. The strongest of these was eventually Poland, extending far into the Russia of to-day. The Moravian Empire of Svatopluk, the Empire of Serbia, the Kingdom of Kroatia, and the Slavicized Bulgars in the South, together with the Grand-Dukedom of Muscovy (and the Wendish kingdom in North Germany), complete the family of Slav States. It would take too long to enter into the historical importance of all these states, but it is a characteristic proof of their power that not only European, but Asiatic, nations courted their favor.

"Some of the main trade routes of the world led from Northern Europe through the heart of Russia to Byzantium (the 'Mikligrad' of the Sagas)—and Asia. Slav, Norwegian, Tartar and Arab traded peacefully together on the banks of the Volga, and sundry passages in the Norse Sagas as well as the journal of an Arab trader give us vivid glimpses of those days. Somehow these searchlight pictures of the Slavs and their country, recorded with positively journalistic fresh-

ness and love of detail, do not corroborate the biased accounts of German historians. But this world-power which Russia alone has developed steadily up to the present day began to wane among the other Slav nations soon after the first Crusade (1097). Already in 1204 (the fourth Crusade) Slavonia, Kroatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia were incorporated in the German (Holy Roman) Empire, together with Hungary, Istria, Carniolia and Carinthia. Under the Hohenstaufens, Bohemia and Moravia also became vassal states, and in the fourteenth century the victorious Osmanlis robbed the Bulgars and Serbs of their independence. With the exception of Russia, Poland alone maintained her independence, until the first partition in 1772, followed by the second in 1793. The third and last partition in 1795 sealed her fate, and the Poles were parcelled out under Russian, Prussian and Austrian rule."

Except the Montenegrins, who alone of all the Balkan peoples preserved their independence during the centuries of Turkish domination, all South Slavic States (Serbia, Bosnia, Kroatia, Slavonia) had to fight for their political resurrection from the Turkish yoke. Serbia was freed in 1817,[7] Bulgaria in 1878. It is a fact that Bulgaria has been freed by the assistance of the mighty Russians, but the Serbs did everything alone, for they believe that all rights must be conquered, and those people who do not conquer them prove that they are not ripe for these rights, that these rights do not exist for them, unless it be potentially—"Whoever would become free must become so by his own efforts and that freedom does not fall unto anybody's lap as a miraculous gift." Freedom to the Slav is the dearest possession on this earth. But John Kolar says: "Only that man deserves freedom, who knows how to worship other's freedom. That man who puts prisoners into irons, is himself a slave; and that man who puts the hands or tongue into irons, is the same." The Polish king Casimer II the Just (1177-1194) protected

want a home of their own; they ask for their rights, justice and liberty.

Slavic people believe in peaceful evolution rather than in coldblooded revolution in building their states. This is the reason why the Slav peasants do not believe in the socialism which is against God, religious impulse of common people and higher idealism. There is a characteristic story told by Baring about a certain revolutionary who one day arrived at a village to convert the inhabitants to socialism: "He thought he would begin by disproving the existence of God, because if he proved that there was no God, it would naturally follow that there should be no Emperor and no policeman. So he took a holy picture and said, 'There is no God, and I will prove it immediately. I will spit upon the *eikon* and break it in pieces, and if there is a God He will send fire from heaven and kill me, and if there is no God nothing will happen to me at all.' Then he took the *eikon* and spat upon it and broke it to bits, and he said to the peasants, 'See, God did not kill me,' but the peasants answered: 'God has not killed you, but we will,' and they killed him." This story, whether true or not, is a parable, in which one may read the whole meaning of the failure of the Slavic revolution, particularly of the failure of the Russian revolution. All progressive, intelligent Slavs hate serfdom and danteists (= cruel serf-owners). A Russian, Alexander Radishchev, influenced by the liberal ideas of Raynal and other French writers pleads for emancipation of the serfs in his little *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* (1790).[9] With a fury of passionate resentment, and with sad bitterness, he exposed the miserable conditions of the Russian people under the yoke of the high and mighty. That a sovereign could abolish slavery—that we saw in Russia in 1862. Addressing the Moscow nobility, Alexander the Second, the Great Tzar Liberator, said (in 1861): "Better liberate the serfs above or they will liberate themselves from

below." It is also interesting to note that even the Russian ruler, Ivan the Terrible, destroyed the *boyars* who were analogous to the mediæval barons. Even the Tzars see the necessity to compromise with the muzhik.

Even under the yoke of foreign rulers the Slav has a peculiar notion of what a nation and a national unity mean. R. W. Seton-Watson, in his book on *The Southern Slav Question* (p. 46), writes:

"'What is a nation?' the great Magyar nationalist Kossuth asked a Serb representative at the Hungarian Diet of 1848. The reply was: 'A race which possesses its own language, customs, and culture, and enough self-consciousness to preserve them.' 'A nation must also have its own government,' objected Kossuth. 'We do not go so far,' explained his interlocutor; 'some nations can live under several different governments, and again several nations can form a single state." Jan Kolar, the great apostle of Slavic unification, says that the common bond of the Slavs "does not consist in a political union of all Slavs, nor in demagogic agitation against the various governments and rulers, since this could only produce confusion and misfortune. Literary reciprocity can subsist in the case of a nation which is under more than one sceptre and is divided into several states. Reciprocity is also possible in the case of a nation which has several religious confessions, and where differences of writing, of climate and territory, of manners and customs prevail. It is not dangerous to the temporal authorities and rulers, since it leaves frontiers and territories undisturbed, is content with the existing order of things, and adapts itself to all forms of government and to all grades of civil life. . . . Under alien non-Slavic rulers, so long as they are tolerant, the weaker Slav races find better guarantees and security for independence and survival of their language, which under the rule of some powerful Slav race would, according to the laws of attraction, be entirely absorbed, or

would at least commingle and finally vanish away.[10]

Other Slavs also do not believe in centralization.[11] So, for example, Herzen hopes that the Slavs will unite on the principle of federation. Such a Slavophilism appeals to a large number of progressive Slavs. This does not mean, however to break with the mightiest Slav state, Russia, for Josef Holechek, a Czech thinker, said rightly, "If there is not a Russia there would be no Slavdom." (For modern conceptions of Slavic matters see the following periodicals: 1. *Le Monde Slave*, edited by E. Denis, Paris; 2. *La Nation Tchéque*, Paris, edited by E. Benesh; 3. *Voit de Pologne*, Paris; 4. *L'Echo Polonaise*, Paris; 5. *Polonia*, Paris; 6. *Bibliothéque Russe et Polonaise*, Paris, Carlsruhe & Leipzig; 7. *Verein für kaschubische Volkskunde, Mitteilungen*, Leipzig, 1908-10; 8. *Archiv für slawische Philologie*, Berlin, 1876-1915, 36 volumes; 9. *L'Echo de Russie*, Paris; 10. *La Revue de Pologne*, Paris; 11. *L'Aigle Blanc* (a richly illustrated bi-monthly revue devoted to the Polish Question), Lausanne, Switzerland; 12, *Le Monitor Polonais:* revue politique, Lausanne; 13. Bulletin *Yougoslave*, Paris, 1916; 14. *Le Bulletin Monténégrin* (Genève, since 1917; President: Andrija Radovitch). I might quote here Nietzsche's opinion about Russia. He says this in his two works:

"Russia, the only power at present which has duality in its constitution, which can wait, and yet promise something —the antithetical conception to the pitiable, European, petty-state system, which has got into a critical condition with the establishment of the German state" (*Twilight of the Idols—Roving Expeditions*, 39). "The power to exercise will is strongest of all and most astonishing in that immense intermediate empire where Europe seems to flow back to Asia, namely, in Russia. There, this power has for long been continuously hoarded and stored up; there, the will—uncertain whether to be negative or affirmative—waits threateningly to be discharged (to borrow their favorite expression

from our physicists). Probably not only Indian wars and complications in Asia would be necessary in order that Europe might be relieved from its greatest danger, but also internal subversion, the shattering of the empire into small states, together with the obligation of everybody to read his newspaper at breakfast. I say this not as one desiring it; the reverse would rather be in accordance with my sentiments —I mean such an augmentation of the threateningness of Russia that Europe would have to resolve to be equally threatening; that is to say, it would have to *acquire one will*, by the institution of a new caste to rule over the country, a persistent, dreadful, spontaneous will, which can set up itself goals to be attained millenniums hence—so that the long-spun comedy of the petty-state system, and its dynastic as well as democratic multivolitionism may finally come to an end. The time for petty politics is past: the next century will bring the struggle for the dominion of the earth—the necessity for grand politics" (*Beyond Good and Evil*, 208).

It is also interesting to note what Napoleon said about the fate of Europe: "Europe will become one day either a republic or the Cossack." Every true Slav is to-day conscious of the fact that Russia is the Great Mother of the Slavic People. From her they came and to her they will return. (See: *W. R. Abbott*, Cossack or Republic? in: *Yale Rev.*, Jan., 1918, 321-6.)

In one of his works on Russian nationalism, Menshikov, the eminent Russian publicist and a foe of obscurantism, says:

"In a world-wide sense only we Russians are Slavs and—unfortunately—so far no one else. The other Slav nationalities are so dismembered, so stupidly and artificially kept apart and hostile among themselves, that they scarcely count either politically or otherwise. The majority of the Outer Slav Nations are still under the German, Hungarian or Turk-

ish yoke, and at present they are quite unable to shake off this yoke. There are many reasons for the decline of the Western Slavs, but the principal one is the *negative* type of their character and the consequent tendency to dissensions and mutual jealousies. . . . Even as regards national culture, Russia—in spite of all her internal miseries—takes the lead among the Slavic nations. In every respect she has the right to say: 'I am Slavdom.'"

Many might ask why some Slavs are afraid of the Russian Empire, which has such a great ruler, like Peter the Great, whose great ideal was to westernize Slavdom. The powers of Tzardom increased and finally reached their zenith with Peter the Great, who may be called the first of the modern Russian or Slavic Tzars. It is rightly pointed by Joseph Goričar that it was the intention of the Germans to keep the world in darkness about the ideals of the Russian people in order to bolster up their arguments for the necessity of a German tutelage over this vast Slavic empire, to conceal their designs upon it and to lend substance to the cry: *Down with Tzarism!* Possibly also, because they were ashamed that these "barbarous" Slavic people enjoyed more democratic self-government than the "civilized" Germans.

It is also not very easy to accept the statement of many historians, who say that the Slavs lack cohesion. R. W. Seton-Watson says: "Suffice it to say that the Slavs have throughout history shown a fissile and centrifugal tendency, and thus the mysterious figures of Samo and Svatopluk are the only Slav empire builders till we reach the days of Peter the Great. Ottokar of Bohemia and Ivan the Terrible are possible exceptions." But the Russian *Mir* and Serbian *Zadruga* and *Bratstvo* are developments which indicate—although within the small social unit—that the Slav with his political genius evolved stable forms of organization and mutual social control, which will be doubtless of great importance in the near future. Herzen believes earnestly in

the Slavic communistic ideals and Slavic people, people who do not care for centralization; he hopes, like many Slavophiles, that the Slavs will unite on the principle of free democratic federation—a dream of Panslavism, for as a Serbian proverb says: "Who does not acknowledge a brother as brother will acknowledge a stranger as master." This Pan-Slavic Ideal was not only a movement, as it is sometimes believed, which resulted from the Czech and other Slav revivals, but was in existence a considerable time ago. Not long after the downfall of Bohemia (in 1620), the Polish ambassador to Peter the Great predicted upon the racial unity of the Slavs and predicting a third epoch of Slavic history—following on those of prosperity and adversity—in which all the Slavic tribes or nations shall unite "in brotherly love, and return to their first state of union."

This language is closely followed by Jan Kolar, the great poetic apostle of Pan-Slavic or All-Slavic Ideal. In one of his essays written—in German—in 1831, entitled "On the Literary Reciprocity between the Families and Dialects of the Slavic Nations" (2nd ed., 1844), he says:

"For the first time in many centuries, the scattered Slavs regard themselves once more as one great people. . . . The Slavic nation strives to return to its original unity. . . ."[12]

As the Pan-Slavic Ideal is misrepresented by many foreigners, especially by the Germans, it is the scientific duty of this study to deal with that problem separately and in detail, in order to see the spirit and *modus operandi* of the Slavic *rapprochement*, i. e., the work of the "unification" of Slavic nations.

CHAPTER XXII

PAN-SLAVIC IDEAL

WHAT is the Pan-Slavic Ideal? Is it a danger to humanity at large? Is it the same as Pan-Germanism?

Pan-Slavism[1] or All-Slavdom is the term applied to a movement with the aim of drawing closer together all the various nations of Slavic stock to the original Slavic unity, a movement in which Russia as the great and mighty Slavic nation has assumed the leadership, for the political and especially cultural union of all tribes of Slavic descent.

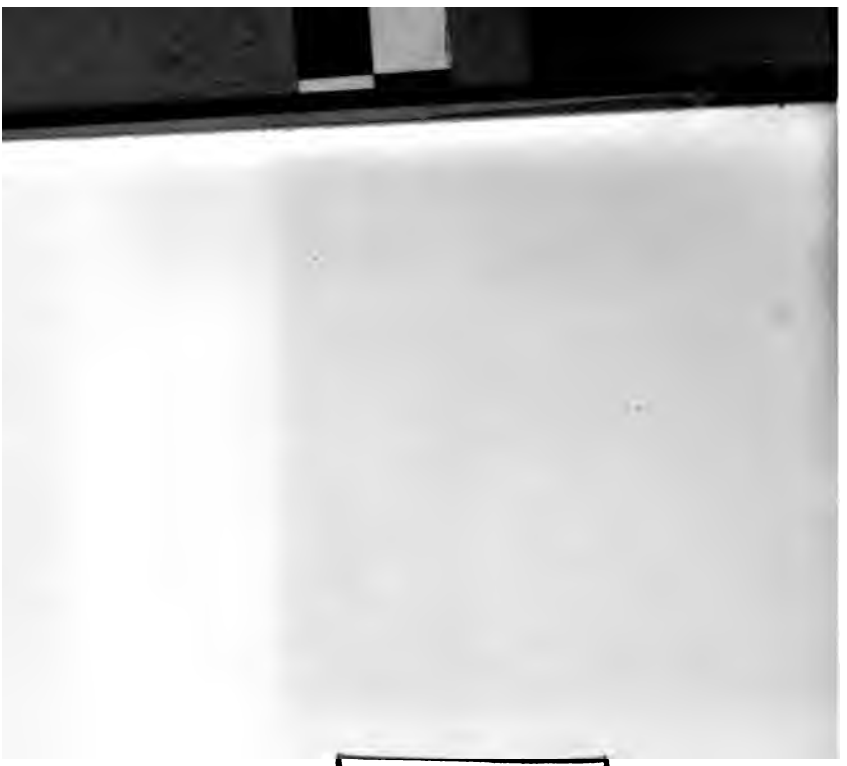
Accordingly the Pan-Slavic or All-Slavic Ideal is union of Slavic race, an opposition to all foreign domination, and the attainment of a higher intellectual, religious-moral, and social-political condition in the general march of humanity, or a conviction that there are the natural germs of a distinctively Slavic civilization in the past, and that the instinct of Slavic traditions must not be overwhelmed by the imposition of all kinds of ideas taken from abroad.

This historical germ of Pan-Slavism does not exist in the Pan-Germanism. Professor Thomas G. Masaryk in his Inaugural Lecture at the University of London (King's College, 1916, pp. 23-24) says rightly:

"The Pan-Germans appeal in vain to history; the facts are against them. History most assuredly is *vitae magistra*, the teacher for life, but there is history and history. In fact, history does not prove anything, for all facts are equally historical—history gives us many examples of brutality as of humanity, of truth as of falsehood. The Huns also are historical. The real question has always been, and always

JAN KOLAR

Czecho-Slovak; the first poet and prophet of Pan-Slavism, the realization of which is not far.



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will be, whether we are to bow unquestioningly before all historical facts, or whether we are resolved to master them. I am an adherent of realism; but the spiritual and moral forces in society and their growth are not less real than the Prussian generals; we can never approve of the *Realpolitik* of Treitschke, Mommsen, Lagarde, Bernhardi, etc., who have converted anthropology into zoology."

As the Pan-Slavism is not understood by many foreign authors it is a crying need at present to point out more in detail the real issues and claims of that movement, which is still only a politico-ethnological theory, a cult, an aspiration. When Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University says (in his article on *The Race War Myth*, published in *Everybody's Magazine*, 1914, pp. 671-674) that the Slavs and the Germans are by blood the same but differ only in their language,[2] he violates both physical-anthropological and sociological-psychological postulates in the scientific study of a race. The same violation is shown by C. Townley-Fullam, the author of *Pan-Slavism in America* (*Forum*, August, 1914, pp. 177-185), for the so-called leader of "Pan-Slavism in America" is a mere refined traitor of what is most precious to the Slavic nature, doing for the unjust German cause in America perhaps more than any other college professor in the United States.

Pan-Slavism rose to a special branch of Slavic literature, and its principal writers were Jan Kolar, M. Grabowsky (1805-1825) and Count Adam Gurowsky. One of the first of the champions of the conception of Pan-Slavism was Yurii or Juraj or Georg Krizanich (1617-circa 1680), a Serbo-Kroat, who wrote in Russian. He was of noble but impoverished family. In 1617 he appealed to the Russian Tzar Michael (the first Romanov, 1613-1645) to come to the rescue of the Slavs of the Danube and the Balkans, making a strong plea for Slav solidarity. (On the fall of the South Slavic monarchies in the fourteenth century, the scholars

of the South like Krizanich began to migrate to Russia.) About 1650, Krizanich comes to Moscow and exclaims to the Tzar:

> The Western Slavs are in terrible slavery; only Russia has its Slavic ruler. Therefore, you, Great Tsar, ought to watch over the Slavic peoples, and, as a good father, you ought to care for your scattered children. Have mercy upon those who have made a mistake, and like the father in the Bible, make them reasonable. Many of them seem to be drunken with a magic beverage. In their blindness they do not even feel the injuries which they suffer from their enemies. They do not see their shame, they are, on the contrary, proud of it. Only thou, Tsar, art given from God to help the South Slavs, Poles, and Czechs, and to show them what kind of a yoke they carry: only thou canst teach them to revenge their people and to overthrow the German yoke under which they labor.

Krizanich was invited to Russia to assist in the revision of copies of the Scriptures. He settled in Moscow in 1645, under Tzar Alexis (1645-1676). Krizanich was a reformer, a Roman Catholic priest, who studied at Zagreb (Agram, Croatia, his birthplace), at Vienna, Bologna, and at Rome (1640), where he was trained for the work of converting the orthodox Slavs to Catholicism, and with great ideal for reuniting the two churches of the Slavs—Greek Orthodox Church and Roman Catholic Church. This was apparently the germ of the idea of an ecclesiastic, political, and literary union of the Slavs. He hoped by means of grammar and lexicon to unite the Slavic tribes, with Russian as the elder brother. (He was also one of the earliest students of Slavic philology.) Russia seemed to him a promising field for this scheme, but his plan was not well received in that country, and he was sent to Siberia. In 1660, from some unexplained cause, he was exiled to the depths of Siberia, at Tobolsk, notwithstanding that he was the teacher of Peter the Great. We do not know what caused this disgrace, which lasted till 1676. It is thought he was exiled because of his vigorous

attacks on the Russian (Greek, Eastern Orthodox) Church. He returned from Siberia in 1676, and after that date nothing is known of him.

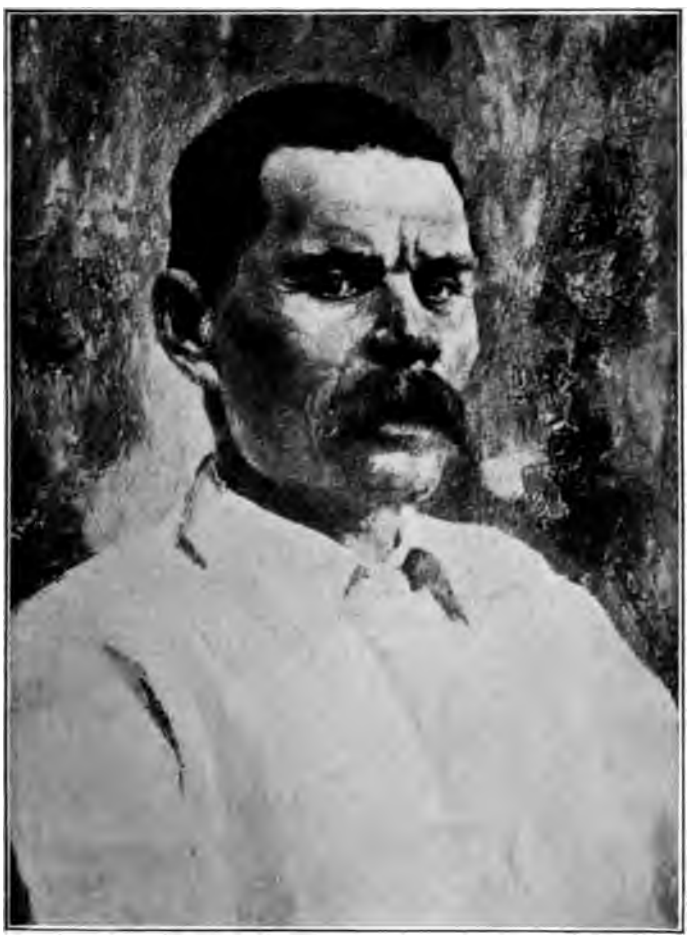
In this distant exile the unhappy Krizanich composed all his works, especially his Pan-Slavic grammar, *Gramatichno Iskazaniye* (1666), in which work the Pan-Slavic language is a jargon manufactured by the author largely from Russian, with admixture of the Serbo-Croatian dialect,[3] but the author shows no small scientific insight in his ability to see cognates, his critical Serbian grammar (with comparison of the Russian, Polish, Kroatian and White Russian, which was edited from the manuscript by Bodiansky in 1848), and a book on "Polity," which is even more important among his works and the history of Pan-Slavism, a book which was published, in 1860, by Besonov, under the title, *The Russian Empire in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.* Here Krizanich criticizes contemporary conditions in Russia, and proposes remedies. In a series of dialogues he gives here a complete plan of political and social reorganization on Western lines, and a fancy picture of a reformed Russian Empire. In it he shows himself a widely-read man, and with very extensive Western culture. The picture drawn in his *Polity,* as in the corresponding production, *Russia in the Reign of Alexei Mikhailovich,* written by Gregory K. Kotoshkin (1830-1867) is a very gloomy one. The great remedy suggested by Krizanich is education (Maxim Gorki gives the same prescription for the present, republican Russia). No doubt Krizanich was a sturdy champion of the Russians against German and Greek influence. He was the first who formulated the opinion according to which Russia's historical mission was to deliver the South-Western Slavs from the Turkish dominion. He maintained that a common Slavic language might be made for all the peoples of the Slavic race, anticipating Jan Kolar by one hundred and fifty years or more. Later an anonymous work, the *European Pen-*

tarchy (1830) and the writings of Count Adam de Gurowsky (1805-1866), a Polish author long resident in the United States, made a considerable impression in favor of a Slavic union under Russia. Count Gurowsky, in his *La verité sur la Russie* (1835), advocated Pan-Slavism which has been favorably received in Russia. (In 1840 he published his *La civilisation et la Russie.*)[4] One of the first poets of Pan-slavism was the Slovak Jan Kolar (1793-1852)[5] who in a Slavic periodical of Hungary, entitled *Hronka*, published an address to all the Slavs, urging them to drop their numerous family feuds, to consider themselves as one great nation, and their closely related languages essentially as one. His most important work is that in which he sings his own Slavic dream, *The Daughter of the Slav* ("*Slávy Dcera*"), a song of more than six hundred sonnets (1851).[6] He says concerning the Slavs:

"We are a young people. . . . We know what the other peoples have done, but no one can yet divine what we shall one day be in the book of mankind. . . . A hundred years hence the Slav life, like a deluge, will spread its power in every quarter. . . ."

The Causes of Pan-Slavism

There are several causes in shaping the All-Slavic Ideal: among them the most important are the following: (a) German idealistic philosophy or romantic German metaphysics (*Hegel*, Schelling, and Fichte); (b) the idea of nationality; (c) antipathy for the non-Slavic spirit at the Russian court since Peter the Great; (d) antipathy for Rome and the Latin Catholicism as a factor in denationalizing Slavic people; (e) exclusive influence of the German *Kultur* on the non-Russian Slavs.



MAXIM GORKY (A. PYESHKOV)

The great Russian self-made story-teller, social reformer; an enemy of the Bolsheviki culture.

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Hegelianism

The French Revolution has aroused a mighty reaction not only in Russia but throughout Europe. The French ideas have been persecuted in Russia and finally Voltaireism has been substituted for the Metternich system and the politics of "Holy Alliance." Abandoning Voltaire and Rousseau, the Russians accepted the teachings of Schelling, Feuerbach and especially the philosophy of Hegel.

According to Hegel and others, universal history is the "Fortschritt im Bewusstein der Freiheit" (progress in the consciousness of freedom), and in each period of the world's history, some one people have been entrusted with the high mission of enabling the *Weltgeist* (or Absolute Reason) to express itself in objective existence, while the other peoples had for the time no metaphysical justifications for their existence, and no higher duty than to imitate slavishly the favored rival in which the Absolute Reason had for the moment chosen to incorporate itself. This mystical Metapsychosis of the *Weltgeist* began first in the Oriental Monarchies (the *Indian*—a branch of the white Aryan; the *Egyptian*—created by an Aryan colony from India which settled on the Upper Nile; the *Assyrian*—with which were associated the Hebrews or Jews, Phoenicians, Lydians, Carthaginians, and Himyarites; the *Zoroastrians* and *Iranians* who ruled in nearer Asia under the names of Medes, Persians, and Bactrians, constituting a branch of the Aryan family), then in China (Chinese people are an Aryan colony from India, introducing civil life there), then in ancient Greece (the Greek culture is likewise founded by the Aryans), next in old Rome (in ancient Italy sprang Roman culture, which is a mixture of Celts, Iberians, Aryans and Semites), and lastly in the Germanic peoples it completed its circle of existence in the highest expression. Such a philosophy with its *nimbus infallibility* could not satisfy the Slavs, for by this Hegelian

theory the whole of the Slavic race was left out in the cold, with no high mission, with no new truths to divulge, with nothing better to do than to imitate the German culture and civilization.

Nationalistic Idea

Nationalistic Idea has been rapidly spread throughout the Slavic world. After the fall of the great Napoleonic Empire a reaction against cosmopolitanism and a romantic enthusiasm for nationality spread over the nations in Europe. The Slavic contact with the West of Europe aroused the national consciousness of Russians and other Slavs. They displayed both their Slavic serious traits (deep and conscientious study of national history, national literature, popular mythology, etc.), and the frivolous characteristics (blind enthusiastic patriotism or chauvinistic patriotic fervor and rhetorical exaggeration). The spirit of patriotic songs of Körner, Uhland, Jahn, and other Germans had a tremendous echo in Slavic hearts, especially E. Arndt's *Spirit of the Age*, where Napoleon and French influence is attacked in order to create the spirit of nationality.

Reforms of Peter the Great

The violent reforms of Peter the Great, who created a military European State out of the semi-Byzantine and semi-Tartar State which Russia had been under his predecessors, did not satisfy many thinking Russians.

Since Peter the Great the Russian Court has been more or less inspired by non-Slavic influences. The Russian Semiramis, Catherine the Second, was continuing the Westernization policy of Peter the Great, only that the latter had chosen Germany and the former France as a model. Peter the Great was accused of having turned his country out of its natural course; of having trampled upon the Slavic spirit

in order to impose the foreign culture of Western Europe. The Slavophiles remember the teachings of the famous Bishop Berkeley, who says, "Westward the course of empire takes its way." Most prominent and learned Russians visited Europe, and Europeans came among them and described what they saw. So, for example, Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821), de Custine, and Baron Haxthausen,[7] who under Aksakov's guidance displayed the Russian *Mir* and common tenure before an astonished world. The book of de Custine, published in 1849, was especially a bitter pill, for his revelations concerning Peter the Great and the comedy of Catherine the Second,[8] the "Empire of façades," *Russie policée non civilisée*, hit the right spot, his eyes saw insultingly much. The Slavophiles or the advocates of the union of the Slavs as a counterpart to the Latin-German world, these celebrators of the high spiritual gifts granted to "Holy Russia" in preference to the "rotten West" (to use the expression of Shevyriov), proclaimed Peter the Great a betrayer of his people, of his country, and of her history;—"he fell in love with Europe," says one of the Russian writers.[9] Many Russian rulers have difficulty with their innovations. (So, for example, Peter the Third, 1728-1762, grandson of Peter the Great, drew down upon himself, by his innovations, the enmity of the nobles and clergy, and was in consequence dethroned and strangled by conspirators, of whom his wife, the profligate, cruel and infamous Catherine the Second was an accomplice. His last words were: "It was not enough to deprive me of the Crown of Russia, but I must be put to death.") The Slavophiles say, "The nations of the West began to live before us, and are consequently more advanced than we are; but we have on that account no reason to envy them, for we can profit by their errors, and avoid those deep-rooted evils from which they are suffering. He who has just been born is happier than he who is dying." They also claim that in the history of the West exist violence, slavery and egotism; and

less individual egotism have exhausted the social forces and brought society to the verge of incurable anarchy, an inevitable dissolution, the social and political history of Russia has been harmonious and peaceful—it presents no struggles between the different social classes, and no conflicts between Orthodox Church and State. Many Slavophiles attacked Roman Catholic Church in the spirit of the doctrines of the Gallican Church which Gerson (a Frenchman) was among the first to formulate, and which were later defended and modified by J. R. Bossuet (1627-1704). John Gerson (1363-1429) uses very strong language in criticizing the Roman Catholic Church. He says: "The court of Rome has created a thousand offices by which to make money, but hardly one for the propagation of virtue. From morning till night there is talk of nothing but armies, lands, towns, and money; rarely, or rather never, do they speak of chastity, charity, justice, fidelity, and a pure life." Gerson is against the monarchical theory of Pope's Church: "The Church universal is the assemblage of all Christians, whether Greeks or barbarians, men or women, nobles or peasants, rich or poor. This Church it is which, according to tradition, can neither err nor offend; her only head is Jesus Christ, the popes, cardinals, prelates, ecclesiastics, kings, and the people are its members, although of different degrees. . . . There is another Church, called universal, to wit, the Pope and the clergy; it is that which is usually called the Roman Church, it is the Church of whom the Pope is regarded as the head, and the other ecclesiastics as members. This Church can err and offend, it can deceive and be deceived and can fall into schism and heresy; it is but the instrument and the organ of the Church universal, and has no more authority than is given by the Church universal to wield the power which resides in it alone. . . . The Church has the right to depose the popes if they show themselves unworthy of their office or if they are incapable of exercising its functions; for if, for the pub-

lic good, a king may be deposed, who holds the kingdom of his ancestors by the right of succession, how much more may a pope be deposed, who holds his title only through the election of the cardinals? . . ."

There are many other reasons why the Slavophiles reject the Roman Catholic Church. They ridicule the statement of their Slavic brothers, Catholic Poles, who think that *Polonism* means the Catholic Church of Poland. In one word, the Roman Catholic Church curtails individual liberty for the sake of unity. Christian Protestantism, too, takes the alternative and loses its unity in its individualism. Russian, Slavic Eastern Church cures the extremes of both Catholic and Protestant Churches, say the Slavophiles.

A Serbian writer, Momčilo T. Seleskovich, in his *The Soul of the Slav* ("Internat. Journal of Ethics," XXVIII, 1918, 360-72) says this about the Slavic Church:

> Culture in the West means the national quality, and the church means the international element. With the Slav, on the contrary, it is the church that harbors the national element and culture the international. Culture and the church supplement each other in the West, completely; with the Slav the one grows out of the other, the national being in his case, as we saw, not the opposite to the international, but its fruit.

German "Kultur"

Germans, as the political masters of the non-Russian Slavs, tried to crush the Slavic soul with their *Kultur*, as if culture and civilization might be changed like our daily dress, worthy to be worn by everybody. The reason is skillfully summarized by Professor Tucich, and by a Chinese student and traveller, K'Ung Yuan Ku'suh. Professor Tucich says in his book cited above:

"The non-Russian Slavs stood for a long time under the influence of German culture. With their characteristic aggressiveness the Germans represented their culture as the

high-water mark of civilization and inculcated it everywhere with the same violence which at present distinguishes the advance of their invading hordes. Even nations possessing a peerless millennial culture, like the French and Italians, have found it difficult to escape their influence. But a sham must inevitably die of its own exposure. Every people, every nation has its own peculiar susceptibility, a kind of instinctive taste, which refuses to tolerate anything that does not appeal to its soul, and could act destructively upon it. The people of the West have for some time past boycotted the 'Williamitic' culture, and only sundry isolated Slav peoples have admitted it—principally those who were practically dependent on Germany, and whose native culture was forcibly suppressed. The result was that a few years ago a non-Russian Slav knew his sentimental Schiller better than his Dante, Lenau better than his Pushkin, Kleist better than Shakespeare, and Gottfried Keller better than Dostoyevsky. In the Slav schools in Austria-Hungary the German language is obligatory as the official language (the other languages are to this day not permitted in the schools), German history is taught as the standard of national greatness and civilization and German literature and art as practically unique and unequalled. All that bore the hallmark 'Made in Germany' was inculcated as ideal. That it was not at all strange that German culture has for a long time predominated among these Slavs. But the Slav instinct always hated this culture, though at first unconsciously, and sensed it as a false and treacherous enemy. Then Russia began her intellectual campaign among the Slavs. At first it was an uphill struggle, for the Government authorities placed every possible obstacle in the way of this propaganda. But when the Slav peoples realized that the Russian influence could only reach them as forbidden fruit, they began greatly to desire it. To the power of the State they opposed the power of their will and their instincts. This struggle is still in

progress, but it has been uniformly successful in favor of the Russian influence. During the 'eighties' the results of this influence began to show fruit, and since that time Slav intellectual and educational development has safely entered the fairway of Russian intellectualism. Art and literature have followed the lines laid down by Russia, and become more definitely Slavic. The latent mental wealth and resources of the Slav nations have to come to the surface and appear pure and unaffected and entirely free from German 'angularity,' while their social problems betray a distinct kinship with the Russian social movement. In recent years this process of emancipation and affiliation has so far developed that it has entered the field of politics materialized in the *Russian protectorate over all the Slavs.* This, however, required no propaganda—it arose out of itself."

The Chinese author says:

"I see in Russia a race of kin with mine, immense in population, immense in the primitive and latent virtues, immense in ignorance and vice. But China sleeps, and Russia has been galvanized. Her virtues are becoming active: her vices are in process of suppression and elimination. The vast simplicity, the transparent guile of Russia are forces too enormous to be measured even by the Russians. Germany comprehends them not at all, or there had never been this war. The Germans thought to batter Russia to humility, seeing often Russians prostrate to such treatment dealt by their kind. But the Russian people can be humbled only by their kind. Foreign blows arouse their pride. They accept such chastisement with momentary patience when retaliation is not possible, and when hurt sufficiently it is their custom to retreat. But they have brooding minds and a physical capacity that thrives on suffering. If they retire to-day it is that they shall return to-morrow invigorated and revengeful. Germany is passionately hated by the whole Slavic race. This is Russia's first national war in the sense that Germany

is the first foe that the entire Russian people ever have been glad to fight, and are anxious to destroy. It is a racial war. Of their own will the Russians will never cease from fighting while they have the wherewithal to build an army and while their enemy survives" (See: *K'Ung Yuan Ku'suh*, The Judgment of the Orient, London, Dent, 1916, 72.)

Russian Slavism

The aim and sympathies of thinking Russians have been harmonious and more or less uniform in the eighteenth century. But in the nineteenth century, when the craze for foreign things which went so far to spoil the early efforts of the Russian people towards growth and self-realization began to give place to the motion of a regenerative mission, we see two distinct opposite camps, represented by the Russian *Slavophiles* and the Russian *Westernists* or Occidentalists respectively.[11] Both parties saw in Russia the *elect nation*, the future regeneration, but the first found that regenerative force in Russia's past with her historical traditions, while the latter saw the special fitness of Russia to play the rôle of universal regenerator in the absence of historical traditions. However great the difference in their political views, both the Slavophiles and the Westernists were inspired by the same sincere love for their Slavic people, in whom alone they saw the future of Russia, for whom alone they pursued their labor of love and life.

Slavophiles

Russian Slavophiles are the champions of the national idea, national civilization, revilers of Europe. Its object is the regeneration of the country through a return to the old ideas of Russian civilization as they had stood before the Western innovations of Peter the Great. The curse of the Russian land has been not the native institutions, but the

barbaric government left by the Tartar invasions (after several victories when Russians shed rivers of blood, the Golden Horde conquered—1224-1240—the major part of Slavic Russia, which remained for three centuries under the yoke of the Mongols, whom Genghiz-Khan had gathered into a national body in 1204; in 1294 there was a decline of this Mongol empire at the death of Kublai-Khan) and the hard and inflexible bureaucratic conception of government, brought in by Peter the Great from Germany in her worst absolutist period. Their tradition may be summed up in the three words—*Tzar*, *Church*, and *People*. Accordingly their creed and program is based mainly on the following three fundamental principles of Russian life:

(1) Religious *Orthodoxy*—the Greek Eastern Orthodox Church, with the necessity of planting its cross on the desecrated dome of St. Sophia in Constantinople. (Peter the Great reorganized the Russian Church, its government being intrusted to the Holy Synod, of which the Tzar was the head.) Slavophiles claim that this Orthodoxy is a living organism of life and truth, assuming it to be the only religion which remains true to the spirit of original Christianity, having harmoniously wedded unity and liberty by the principle of Christian Love. The great Russian publicist, Gradovsky, says:

"In olden times, peace reigned between non-believers and the Catholic Slavs in Russia; the Jews, the Mussulmans and the Christians live together in perfect harmony." [12]

(2) State *Autocracy*—the Absolute Power of the Russian Ruler, who ought to be proclaimed "Pan-Slavic Tzar." Slavophiles claim that this autocracy was created by the "free" will of its citizens, that it is not a product of conflict and brutal force, to which present parliamentary rule is but a natural reaction, as are the Western Governments. The legend of the call of Rurik, the first dynast of Russia, may not be true historically, but it certainly is true temperamen-

tally, reflecting the soul of the Russian people, they claim. Thus autocracy is the "Holy Ark" of the Russians—the sovereign, the Tzar, wishes but the good of the Russian people and this makes parliamentary rule superfluous.

(3) Social *Communal Ownership*, based on the principle of the patriarchal family, the Russian *Mir* or the *Parish Land Commune*, a realization of the Utopian Dreams of many non-Slavic sociologists, reformers and economists, who hoped to attain it by means of capitalism, and a proletariat. The *Mir* was called the cornerstone of all Russian institutions. The socialist ideal of communal ownership of land and of the tools of production, it was claimed, needed not to be obtained in Russia by force, for there is a natural product having grown from the very heart of the Russian nation. The creation of a Russian proletariat is unnecessary and impossible in Russia, because the spirit of Christian resignation and self-sacrifice has achieved there what selfish Western Europe is trying to get by a bitter class-struggle. It is concluded that the Russian society is based upon the principle of justice and voluntary self-abasement, which is immeasurably higher than the struggle principle of the "Rotten West" (this term comes from Constantin S. Aksakov) of "cultured" and "civilized" Europe. In one word: in Europe the constitution of houses and families leads, *eo ipso*, to a system of majorities which oppresses the minorities to the feudal and aristocratic state.

The main representatives of this movement are Brothers Aksakov—Constantin (1817-1860) and Ivan (1823-1886, President of the Moscow Slavic Society), sons of Serge Timofiyevich Aksakov (1791-1859; recently his three works are translated into English: *Russian School-boy*, N. Y., Longmans, Green & Co., 1913, XII+216; *A Russian Gentleman*, and *Years of Childhood*); the Brothers Kiriyevsky—Ivan Vasilyevich (1806-1856) and Peter (1808-1846); Alex. Stephanovich Khomyakov (1804-1860: editor of the famous

Moscow Gazette, which obtained immense influence), Michael Nikiforovich Katkov (1820-1887), Y. F. Samarin (d. 1876), Prince Odoyevsky, Sishkov (1754-1841), Koshelev, Burachkov, Ostrovsky, D. Valuyev, K. N. Leontiev (1831-1891), Apollon Grigoriev, Almazon, N. Y. Danilevsky, Tyuchev, Count Uvarov (d. 1884), C. P. Pobyedonostzev (1827-1907), N. Strahov, Count Nikolay Pavlovich Ignyatiev (1832-1885), General Gorchakov (d. 1883), General Skobelev (1843-1882), Heyden, Shipov, Stakhovich, etc.

Of course, these are many shades of opinions among the Russian Slavophiles. Katkov, the head of the nationalistic party, and Pobyedonostzev (Count Paul Sheremetyev describes him as a "man in a scheme"), proctor of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church, are very nationalistic, compared with Kiriyevsky. N. I. Kostomarov[13] supported the theory of the federative system in ancient Russia, and in opposition to that of C. Aksakov, which attributed a preponderating share in the organization of the Russian country to the provincial parliaments. Karamsin's *Memoir* on *Old and New Russia* (1811) protests against any deviation from the traditional autocratic system. (The first eight volumes of his *History of Russia* appeared in 1818, and the whole edition of 3000 was sold out in 25 days. The four later volumes—the last, unfinished, comes down to 1611—were published in 1818-29.) Karamsin's chief thesis was that Russia flourished when autocracy prevailed, and was weak when autocratic power was on the decline.[14] Kiriyevsky's Slavophilism was broader. He was, therefore, not liked by the Russian autocracy. In 1852 the Russian minister of England, Prince Shirimski-Shaklmetov (in his report to the Tzar, *Sbornik*, Miscellany, 1852) wrote about Kiriyevsky:

"Kiriyevsky does not pay due respect to the immortal merits of the great Reformator of Russia and of his imperial successors." According to G. de Wesselitzky (see

his *Russian Democracy*, N. Y., 1916, p. 64), the great Slavophile leader, Ivan Aksakov said that "the Slavophiles were unjustly criticized in Russia for taking too great an interest in foreign Slavs; they did it chiefly in order, by emphasizing the Slav origin of the Russian people, to attain its national independence at home." The Russian people, who were always deploring the oppression of Eastern Christians and longing to free them from it, were most impressed by Gladstone's thundering indictment against Turkey and felt they could no longer remain passive. Numerous volunteers of all classes went out to help Serbia, and those of the peasantry, when asked why they were doing it, mostly answered:—"*To suffer for Christ.*" Katkov, editor of Moscow *Gazette* and an enemy of Europeans, attacked the Poles as false to the Slavic brotherhood. He said that in fighting the only state capable of bringing the Slavic idea to triumph they were acting as aristocrats, and enemies of the Orthodox Religion.

"*Westernists*" or "*Liberals*"

The Russian Progressive Westernists or "Occidentalists" are under the influence of Western European views; they are champions of one common European civilization, preachers of universalism. This school laid the foundation of the Liberal Russian movements, represented mainly by the Russian *intelligentzia* (the intelligent part of the nation). Their ideal is the Western liberalism of the Whig or the Guizot type, maintaining moreover that everything which has happened in Western Europe, in the course of evolution of Russia (such as depopulation of the villages, the horrors of freshly developing capitalists, revealed in England by the Parliamentary Commissions of the forties, the powers of bureaucracy which had developed in France, etc.), must necessarily be repeated in Russia as well, for they are "unavoidable laws of evolution." Their social and political

LJUBOMIR MIHAJLOVIĆ

Serb; the *first* Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Serbia to the United States; scholar and patriot, who was able to unite Serbian, Croatian and Slovene people in America.

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views are the exact antithesis of Count Uvarov's theocratic Trinity:—*Orthodoxy, Autocracy* and *Nationalism*—which has been claimed as the only institution which can preserve Russia in continuous safety and happiness.

The most important representatives of this movement are Alexander Ivanov Herzen [15] (1821-1870), who in the *Kolokol* ("The Bell," a Russian newspaper at London, 1857; the motto of it was: "I call the living; I mourn the dead; I break the thunder bolts"—Vivos voco, mortuous plango, fulgara frango, the inscription on an mediæval bell which is prefixed to the opening lines of Longfellow's "Golden Legend") demands reforms in every dimension, Visarion Grigorievich, Ogarev, T. N. Granowsky (1813-1855), and around them clustered a number of writers like Byelinsky (1810-1848), Ivan Turgenyev, N. G. Chernishevsky (1826-1889), Stankyevich, Goncharov, N. K. Mikhailovsky, P. I. Chadayev (1873-1856), Dostoyevsky, Prince Gagarin, Vladimir Solovyev, Shtchedrine, Sheftchenko, Nekrasov, Pisemski, Plekhanov, Paul Pestel (1794-1826), Pisarev, Dobroljubov (1836-1861), P. Lavrov, M. A. Bakunin, N. Gogol, Count Tolstoy, P. N. Milyukov, and many other direct or indirect members of this school, whose tenets were the attainment of the social and ethical ideals of society.[16]

In the opinion of the more intelligent and the better educated Russian "Westernists," the hardships suffered by workingmen and agricultural laborers in Western Europe from the unbridled power won in the parliaments, by both the landlords and the middle classes, and the limitations of political liberties introduced in the continental European states by their bureaucratic centralization, were by no means "historical necessities," advocated by Hegel and other German philosophers. Herzen agrees with Hegel that Humanity develops by degrees, step by step (*Natura non facit saltum*), but laughs at Hegel and his followers when they claim that the German God lives in Berlin. The "Western-

ists" claim that Russia need not necessarily repeat these errors; she must, on the contrary, profit by the experience of her elder European sisters, and if Russia succeeds in attaining the era of industrialism without having lost her communal land-ownership, or the autonomy of certain parts of the Empire, or the self-government of the "Mir" in her village, this will be an immense advantage. Therefore, it would be the greatest political error to go on destroying Russian Mir, to let the land concentrate in the hands of a few landed aristocrats, and to let the political life of society, immense and varied in territory, be concentrated in the hands of a central governing body (in accordance with the Prussian, or the Napoleonic ideals of political centralization, especially at present when the powers of Capitalism are so immense). P. Lavrov accepted the Russian *Mir* as the basic economic institution of Russia, but recommended that it be made more efficient by the education of the Russian peasants. Representing Marxist socialism in Russia he recommended preparing the Russian peasants for a peaceful economic revolution by educating them. A proclamation invited the *intelligentzia* to descend among the people. Several groups were formed, composed mainly of students and young girls. Others have been very revolutionary in their writings and actions. So, for instance, M. A. Bakunin sent an appeal to all the Slavs (see his *Aufruf an die Slaven*, Koethen, 1848, 35). By adapting Pruidhon's doctrine to Russian ideas, Bakunin wished to transfer the ownership of the soil to the *Mir* and declared that to prepare the way for revolution the people must be roused by acts of violence, riots, and conspiracies. His motto was "to go among the people" which meant to mingle with the people, and excite them to revolt. In 1849 he resided for a time in Leipzig, surrounding himself with Czech students, and endeavoring to arouse a fresh rising in Bohemia. When the year of revolution broke out in Dresden, he joined it. Bakunin was, however,

captured during a skirmish and condemned to death. On the eve of being shot he was handed over to the Austrian government, and tried by it for his part in the Czech rebellion. Again sentenced to death, he was claimed by Russian authorities, and imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsserberg, and in 1852 transported to Siberia. In 1860 he reappeared in London, having escaped from Siberia by way of Japan and the United States. He immediately resumed his advocacy of socialistic Pan-Slavism, and became more revolutionary than ever. Another Russian terrorist, Nechayev, founded a society directed by a secret committee, and persuaded the members that Russia was full of societies ready for action. His heroes were the national brigands, Razin and Pugachev or Pugatchev. The society murdered a spy in 1868, and was discovered and suppressed. In April 1879 a school master, Soloviev, fired five shots at the Tzar Alexander the Second, none of which took effect. (In Dec. 1825, Pestel and Rilyev were dramatically executed as anarchists.)

Dostoyevsky, who shared a little of the Slavophile creed, speaks of Europe as "a land of sacred miracles." Nevertheless, yielding to his desire to heighten the prestige of Slavic Russia, he adds: "The Russian is not partially European, but essentially so, in the very largest sense of the word, because he watches, with an impartial love, the progress achieved by the various peoples of Europe, while each of them appreciates, above all, the progress of his own country, and often does not want to let the others share it." Dostoyevsky believed in Russian progress, but only upon national lines. In his own words: "No country will renounce its own life, it will consent rather to live in poverty, but at all events to live, rather than to live in the fashion of other nations, where is not to live at all." He insisted that reforms must have an organic link with the Russian people.

Dostoyevsky's main arguments consist in the claim that the upper classes have detached themselves from the na-

tional Slavic soul, and that they must return to the soil; he and his followers are designated with a name we might translate by *Soilers*.

In order to understand better the sources and forces of Russian westernists, let me quote a few lines from Hecker's *Russian Sociology* (a recent dissertation for Ph.D. at Columbia University):

"Following the example of their sovereigns (Peter the Great and Catherine the Second), the young Russian intellectuals absorbed like sponges the ideas brought to them from the west. Voltaire, Adam Smith and the French Encyclopædists were beginning to mould the plastic minds of many young Russians eager for knowledge. Besides French and English liberal thought another current of mystic German realism found ready soil among the Russian nobility. It expressed itself in the early Russian Masonic movement. In Moscow, Nicolai Novicov was leader of Masons. He developed the first popular literature in Russia and organized schools to teach the illiterate masses, also aiding them through his philanthropic agencies.[17] This period gave rise to journalistic activities which soon expressed more definite and opposing views, and which were really the beginning of public opinion in Russia. This golden age of intellectual activity in which Catherine II took intense interest, came to an abrupt and tragic close, occasioned by the rumors of the French revolution and by popular uprisings in Russia under the leadership of Pugatchev. Catherine adopted a rigid censorship, suppressing many periodical publications and books, putting even her own 'Nakazy' (Great Instructions [18]) under the ban of the censor. She went further and persecuted the leaders who sided with the people. Novicov was thrown into prison, and the Masons and other voluntary societies had to be disbanded. Radishchev, who had taken seriously the liberal ideas which were permitted to be disseminated by Catherine II, was banished to Siberia.

"Catherine tried to justify her reaction to arbitrary despotism by theorizing over the psychic (i.e., mental) characteristics of the Russian people, who, under the influence of Russia's peculiar geographical and climatic environment, she claimed were unfit for self government and can only prosper under an absolute autocracy.

"In her *Nakazy of Catherine IInd of Russia*, we read her fundamental rule: 'That the government which most resembles that of nature is that whose particular disposition answers best to the disposition of the people for which it is instituted.' And in the case of Russia, she adds in the opening of the *Nakazy* that is autocracy. This theory, strange as it may seem, is still the principal philosophical justification of the apologists of Russian Autocracy. It is curious, however, that these thinkers do not realize that the genius of the Russian people, whether attributable to geographic environment or to something else, continually produces personages and groups that think the opposite of that which is advocated by the minority in power, and that there are many historic facts to show that the Slavs once lived in the same environment under democratic organizations.

"The next movement in the struggle with Russian Autocracy was known as the *Decembrist Movement*, named after the military insurrection which took place in Petrograd during December, 1825, at the time of the death of Alexander I, and the succession of Nickolas I. With the failure of the insurrection the movement was crushed, its leaders were executed or banished, and throughout the reign of Nickolas, autocracy, more severe perhaps than before in Russia, continued its iron rule.

"The adherents of the Decembrists were of the military class, mostly army officers. Many of these became acquainted with French liberal ideas during the Napoleonic wars and on their return home organized societies for the study of political and social science. In the south,

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bad men. . . . What are the proofs for it? Let us look at the physician. You have to believe in him, he is almost unconditionally master of you. . . . Even your lawyer is able to injure you, without being suspected. All people, who work for you, in any direction, who work for your health, your happiness and your interests, can injure you without being able to be taken to account by yourself.

The same is true in a state. A man can injure the state without being punished in the least degree even while working good for the state. People might be poisoned even by their benefactor. Under the toga of a scientist, ideas could be propagated derogatory to the state. While serving your sacred ideas, it is easy to propagate immoral ideas in society, spoiling taste and ruining the good habits of that body. There is no end to the evil which a conscienceless, bad man can do, always protecting himself by the existing laws. Therefore, the Russian has seen by means of his clear and good common sense that *we cannot expect so much from good laws as from good men.* Neither the publicity of the state laws nor the privilege of equal rights of defence accompanied with the right of complaint (libel), assure the truth. We all know that in broad daylight, and before the eyes of the whole world, it is possible to have a lie appear as truth, and such a condition is approved and defended by the entire party to whose interests the falsehood attributes, for according to the ethics of every party a man must serve the party and not the truth. And at the moment when you decide to serve the party, you are obliged to abandon general human conscience to form a conscience which is temporary, conditional, pragmatic. . . . It is, therefore, necessary to have one single conscience at the head of a state, a conscience which is limitless, in order that it may be a harbor for frankness of soul, goodness and truth. But those who only see the salvation of humanity in one legal formula, say: To call on conscience in human matters is really to accept self-will

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binds a man closely with God, or if it is the imperishable Slavic trait of the Russian soul, of the Russian people, it is a fact that it is essentially a rooted characteristic, the eternal mental thirst of the Russian people. This trait is sometimes exhibited even in the intelligent Russian social strata, but here it is spoiled by the soil and the chips of European culture.

The "Holy Russia" means a humble and humane, and not an arrogant and military land, as is painted in Germany, England and America, where the whole power and greatness of the arrogant constitution is used at any moment to annihilate all opponents. . . . Holy Russia is not the holy Russia of the mediæval Empire, which at the end became a guillotine for a religious creed. Namely, in Russia, Christianity is not preserved and propagated by knights with iron pinchers, but by humble monks and more simple and humble peasants. In all the Russian monasteries there is not one single gun, and not one Russian cell has had a single pistol for the crusade wars. And while throughout the rest of Europe, especially in its Roman Catholic parts, there have been ceaseless revolutions for the sake of material progress, in Russia we see tremendous movements for moral improvement. The West has hundreds of political parties. Russia has hundreds of religious sects. But while the ruling party in the rest of Europe is constantly more or less oppressing and exiling every one in opposition, in Russia the ruling Orthodox Church is compromising with both the Orthodox Schism and other Christian and non-Christian creeds, and at the moment, when throughout Europe, there is being practiced the freemasonic inquisition in the name of freedom of thought, or when in the name of the ruling religion other creeds and personal liberty are oppressed, Russia is preparing to guarantee frankly and permanently freedom for every creed and every thought. And such a Russia will be acknowledged and called holy even by those who are to-day

most fanatically against her, without understanding her real genius and without acknowledging the truth, that everything might be changed and saved in every nation, consequent upon the acceptance of such a religion, i. e., a higher moral principle of life. This Russian religion might be summarized as follows:

"The lower people as representative of primitive purity and the depository of real Christianity, uncorrupted by civilization, becomes an object of veneration. If we are bad, it is because we have lost that which they have preserved; we must forget about Europe, think of nothing but ourselves, in patriotic humility, not in patriotic pride; we must enter the way of individual self-improvement, we must become like our younger brethren, and when the whole country shall be regenerated by real Christianity, then we may think of others, and with patriotic self-consciousness of our regeneration undertake the great work of assimilating the rest of the world."

Pan-Slavism of Other Slavs and South-Slavdom (Jugoslavija)

The Russian Slavophilism is closely connected, by sympathy and synchrony, with a huge wave of Slavic movement outside of Russia, living among the Slavs under Austria, Hungary, Prussia or under Turkish rule: (1) the *National Renaissance* in the land of the Czecho-Slovaks, (Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary) inaugurated by Jan Kolar (1793-1852, Slovak bard), J. Dobrovsky (1753-1829), Telzel (1734-1801), Jungmann (1773-1847), Havlichek, Paul Josef Shafarik (1795-1861, the famous Slavic antiquary), Fr. Palacky (1798-1876), Frantishek L. Chelakovsky (1799-1852), Hanka (1791-1861), Pressl, Dr. Rieger, Vaclav Klofač, Dr. Karel Kramarž, Th. G. Masaryk, etc.; (2) the *Illyrism* (South-Slavdom or Jugoslavija) diffused among

the South Slavs by Dr. Louis Gaj (founder of the *Illyrian National Gazette* in 1836), Janko Drashkovich, Stanko Vraz, D. Demeter, Dosithey Obradovich, Kvarternik, Branko Radichevich, Gjuro Jakshich, Ivan Gundulich, Vuk S. Karadzich, Ban Jelachich (1801-59), Petar Preradovich, Petar Petrovich-Njegosh, Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, Yovan Sundechich, Matija Ban, Valentin Vodnik, Nodilo, Barchich, Bleiweiss, Perkovich, Hinko Hinkovich, Vasa Pelagich (South-Slavic Bakunin), Andrija Kachich-Mioshich, Zmaj Jovan Jovanovich, Matija Relkovich, King Peter Karageorgevich ("Petar Mrkonjić"), Bishop Jeglich, Prince Nickolas of Montenegro, Iliya Okrugich, Kert, Simon Gregorchich, Jovan Skerlich, Zika Dachich, Brothers Pribichevich (Milan, Svetozar, Adam, and Valerian), Lj. Leontich, Josip Goričar, Bogumil Vosnjak, Milan Marjanovich, Nikola Borojevich, Frankopan and Zrinski (these two Croatian noblemen schemed to complete independence of Croats, but their plan was frustrated by the vigilance of Vienna, and both were beheaded in Vienna in 1671), Prince Michael of Serbia, Matija Relkovich, Ivo & Lujo Vojnovich, Franjo Prešern, Avgust Šenoa, Kukuljevich-Sakcinski, Ilija Garašanin, Boža Markovich, Petar Svačić, Lunder, Adamić, Matija Gubec, Brothers Dalmatin, Trubar, Shtur, Stjepan Konzul, Ivan and Bogosav Mažuranich, Franjo Rački, Avelin Čepulić, Luka Vukalovich, Janez Krek, Milan Grol, Vlad. Fabijančić, Dušan Madjarevich, Ivan Lorkovich, Srgjan Budisavljevich, Vasa Stajić, Anton Korošec, Ivan Bonači, Ribar Ljubomir Mihailović, Mičic, Gazzara, Vid Gjurgević, Milan Čemerkovich, Vuk Primorac, Stevo Bogdanovich, Bogoboj Atanackovich, M. Bartulica, Hasan Rebac, Andrija Radović, Miloš Trivunac, etc.; (3) the *Patriotic Mysticism* of Poles, represented by Adam Mickiewicz, Andrew Towianski, Julius Slowacki, Sigismund Krasinski,[21] etc. (At the beginning the Polish movement had its center outside of the Austrian Empire, at Cracow, which was organized as an

aristocratic republic since 1815; there the plots to re-establish ancient Poland were drawn up. In 1831 the Austrian government sent an army of occupation into Cracow, then evacuated it. These conspiracies were, however, directed less against Austrian province of Galicia than against the Prussian and Russian possession in Poland.)

Russian Slavophilism, especially that which is represented by Khomyakov [22] (who had wound up his European tour by a visit to the Slavic provinces outside of Russia, and had entered into personal relations with the principal leaders of the national propaganda there) gave a big idea which was seized upon with eagerness by the Czechs and other Austro-Hungarian Slavs, who by a Pan-Slavistic organization hoped to prevent their being absorbed by the German and Hungarian races. The Czech Pan-Slavic movement was set on foot at Prague and was mainly literary. Czecho-Slovak patriots began to study Slavic antiquities and labored to build up a Slavic Federation in every dimension. Since the downfall of the Czech nation (in 1620), German had become the language, not only of government, but of the university, and of all educated societies, the only language of literature, and science. Czech tongue was regarded as a *patois* fit only for the peasantry and the illiterate. In 1819, a number of Czech patriots found in a convent a manuscript containing Czech national anthems of the thirteenth century. The Czech scholars began then to work on the revival of national pride, reminding the Czechs of the literature they had possessed. (That the German influence was great in other Slavic tribes is shown for example by the fact that the great Kroatian poet, Peter Preradovich, like Yuri or George Fedkovich and other Slavs, began writing poetry in German language, till he was turned into more natural paths by some patriotic friends.) [23] Russia, owing to its predominant position in European affairs under Tzar Nicholas the First (1825-1855), came to be regarded as the

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protector of the scattered Slavic people living under foreign yoke. The Poles of Prussia resisted Germanization,[24] Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Slovaks and Czechs asserted their rights against their Austro-Hungarian masters; and the still less fortunate Slavs of Turkey gladly swelled the chorus. The most important effort put forth toward the realization of a political union of the Slavs was in 1848,[25] when, stimulated by the rival effort at union of the German nations and especially by the summons of Bohemia to send her full contingent to the German parliament, the Czechs meet at Prague and demand autonomy (March); but the meeting is broken, and the city surrenders to the military force (June). The Slavic clubs summoned a congress on the institution of the empire. This first great Pan-Slavic Congress met at Prague, Bohemia, on June 2, 1848, attended by Slavs from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Serbia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Poland. These various Slavic nations represented were classified in three groups: the first, consisting of the Bohemians (Czechs), Moravians, Silesians, and Slovaks or Western Slavs; the Poles and Ruthenians forming the Eastern Slavs; the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Dalmatians, the Southern division. Each of these divisions chose 16 members, who formed a committee, with Palacky at their head, who drew up a plan of confederation and alliance among the various nationalities of the Empire. Palacky opened this famous congress; 340 members, of whom 237 were Czechs, took part in it. Speeches in praise of the Slav race were made in various Slavic languages, in Russian by Bakunin, in Polish by Liébelt, and in Serbian by Zach; they were hardly understood. The proceedings of the congress, however, which had to be conducted in German, as the only means of communication, could not be brought to a formal conclusion, and the congress was interrupted by the well-known Slavic insurrection, leading to a bloody conflict with the Austrian troops under Count Windischgraetz, and the severe persecution of various mem-

bers of the congress. The Czechs detected the head of the army in Bohemia, Windischgraetz, as an aristocrat and absolutist; a mass meeting agreed to ask authorities at Vienna to recall him, then the Czech militia at Prague made a riot before his house; they shot through the windows, and killed the prince's wife (June 12). There was fighting in the streets of Prague. Prince Windischgraetz first withdrew on the request of the government of Vienna, then returned, bombarded the city and put down the Czech revolt (June 17). (The Czechs who had so many grounds of complaint against the Hapsburg dynasty, felt for it no blind hatred. Against the tendencies, Pan-German, far more than liberal, of the Frankfurt Parliament, the Czechs felt that Austria was, in a certain sense, the condition of their existence. Hence Palacky's famous words: "If Austria did not exist, it would have to be invented.")

In 1849 a Russian army of 80,000 men under General Paskovich was sent to aid of Austria against the Magyars,[26] and assisted in the suppression of the revolution. Tzar Nicholas the First did it because he hated revolutionary movement of 1848-49. His Minister, Count Uvarov, proclaimed the reactionary triad: (1) *Church Orthodoxy*, (2) *Absolutism*, and (3) *Nationality*, as the doctrine against the spreading of any progressive movement. The growing dominance of Russia caused the Poles to withdraw their hearty support, and even the Czechs began to fear that Poland, under Russian guidance, looked like a selfish Pan-Russism.[27] Bohemia was rewarded as Croatia was for having helped the Hapsburgs against Hungary. Austria refused to be regenerated by honest federation. Even her reverses did not convert her. After 1859, came the centralizing constitution of 1861, in which the electoral system is skillfully contrived to crush the Slavs. Since 1860 Prague has exerted direct influence on Austro-Hungarian politics, both northern and southern Slavs tending toward united action

in opposition to the Germans and Magyars. The opening of the Austrian provincial diets and central Reichsrath in 1861 was productive of new Pan-Slavic manifestations. (Schmeling becomes the head of a centralizing cabinet in Austria, and the Council is changed into a central Parliament. Bohemia refuses to send deputies. The red constitution is restored to Hungary, but the Diet is dissolved for demanding full autonomy.)

In May of 1867 a great Slavic Congress was held at Moscow. There were no Poles at this second congress, and no doubt, the weakness of the Slavophile movement is in the fact that the attempt to bring the Poles has failed. The Russians were always interested in Czechs and the Balkan Slavs. A comparative silence in regard to the Polish problem was mainly due to the suppression of the freedom of expression. Representative is the teaching of Ivan Aksakov, who acknowledges the right of the Polish people as a separate Slavic nation, believes in their union with the Russian people, supports the principle of nationality, denying the historical right and the right of conquest. Another Russian Slavophile, Danilevsky, shows that Russia with other Slavic nations form a separate type of civilization. He does not believe in the universal mission of Russia, nor in the unity of mankind, and does not want assimilation of Poland, but her membership in the Federation of the Slavic tribes. Dr. Semen Rapoport, in his article on *The Russian Slavophiles and the Polish Question* (*Polish Review*, I, 1917, 141-52) thinks that the present Polish question is purely political, having lost its moral, racial, and Slavic aspects. This attitude is fairly expressed in the German press beginning in 1846 up to the recent Austro-German propaganda for "independent" Poland and Ukraine. Such an attitude is not championed by the leading Polish thinkers in the past and present (See: *L. Mickiewicz*, Adam Mickiewicz and the Polish Destiny, in: *Polish Review*, 1, 1917, 132-40; Die Verschwörung

des Panslavismus und der polnische Aufstand, Leipzig, 1846; Russland am Scheidewege: Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Slavophilenthums und zur Beurteilung seiner Politik, Leipzig, 1859; Die Sünden Russlands gegen die Katholische Kirche oder die Geschichte des alten Polen, Mainz, 1874, IV + 243; La Pologne devant l'Europe Catholique, Paris, 1863.) On account of the fact that some Polish politicians preach openly the doctrine that the Poles are a *distinct* nationality, that Poland must be an *independent* state, having no connection with other Slavs and their Slavic Federation, and that *Catholic Church* is the spiritual principle of *Polonism*,—Russian Slavophiles worked with other Slavs only. Russia found a most receptive field for the propaganda in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia.[28] Yes, it was largely as the natural champion of the oppressed Slavs of the Balkan peninsula that Russia declared war on Turkey, in 1877, and the politics of this peninsula since then have been influenced to a considerable degree by the ambitions of the Pan-Slavists. Russia became now more pronouncedly the protector of all Eastern Orthodox Christians—Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Rumanians. The Austrian Slavs felt themselves put into the background by the re-constitution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1867, which gave so much power to the Magyars who are numerically much smaller than the Slavic element in Austria-Hungary.[29] The spirit of this Austro-Hungarian compromise, as regards the Slavs, is expressed in Beust's brutal threat: "Put them up against the wall." Palacky, the historian of the Czechs, mourned the establishment of the Magyars in Europe in the following words: "Slavdom never received a more fatal blow. . . . The Magyar by driving a wedge into the heart of the State destroyed it and therewith all the hopes of the Slavs." The spirit which still animates the Magyar interests is the same as that proclaimed by Lájos Kossuth, who was only a liberal when direct Magyar interests were at

stake, when he said: 'I know no Kroatian nationality.'" And so Austria has used the Germans to keep down the Czechs, the Magyars to keep down the Rumanians and the Serbo-Croatians, the Poles to oppose the Ruthenians, the Italians to keep down the Serbo-Croatians of Dalmatia and Istria. The Austrian prime-minister, Beust, is said to have remarked to the Hungarian ministry: "Take care of your barbarians, we will take care of ours."

Since 1867 there has been no Slavic congress on a large scale, but *rapprochements* between the different sections of the Slavic race have taken place from time to time. The most vital of the bonds forged in behalf of Pan-Slavism before the European War is that which united the Young Slavs through the medium of the Slavic athletic societies (called the *Sokols*, "falcons"), which are also patriotic, being formed all over the Slavic countries which they unite in a friendly rivalry. (There is a national Sokol Union which includes associations all over Europe and even among the American Slavs.) We may add here, that in May, 1908, a deputation of the Slavic members of the Austrian Reichsrat paid a ceremonial visit to the Russian Duma at Petrograd, and in this *neo-Slavic* demonstration M. Dmowski, leader of the Polish party in the Duma, took part. In 1909, however, the situation was changed, a result due to the growing anti-Polish feeling in the Duma, and, more especially, to the annexation populated by the two Serbian provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina.[30] This event caused the most excitement in Russia; the crown prince of Serbia, who arrived in Petrograd on Dec. 28th, 1908, to ask for the armed assistance of Tzar Nicholas the Second, was received with greatest enthusiasm by all classes of the people; and though armed intervention was impossible, Isvolsky took the lead in the abortive demand for a European Conference. Pan-Germans rejoiced in the belief that *neo-Slavic* dreams are now replaced by a passionate desire to consolidate the Russian Empire on a purely

dimension. Smichiklas writes (in 1888) thus:

"The Serbs and Kroats are one nation. The best and foremost sons of our nation bow their heads before this highest principle; but the idea of nationality can only be realized by national union."

In his speech at the opening of the South-Slavic Academy in Zagreb (Agram, Kroatia), in 1867, the great historian François Rachki (Racki, Rački, Ratschki) uttered the following words:

"Serbs and Kroats! In the seventh century we penetrated into Christian Europe. From the first we founded a free and independent state, whereas Cæsarism and feudalism ruled everywhere else. We were the first to place the relations between church and Christians, although we introduced our national tongue which ruled supreme in our whole public life as it did in our Church, whereas other nations compiled their laws in degraded Latin. We built up a homogeneous literature, the mental heritage of both branches of the nation and founded upon the identity of our language."

Vladimir Zagorski, in his *François Racki et la Renaissance Scientifique et Politique de la Croatie*, 1876-1894 (Paris, 1909), quotes Racki as follows:

"If the Balkan Peninsula had been granted the centuries of comparative peace necessary to the development of state society, the racial differences would have been gradually obliterated in one national community, which would have proved strong enough to constitute an independent State to the Adriatic and the Black Seas. The principal reason why the South-Slavs have not taken that place in history to which they are entitled both by their numbers and their geographical position, is that they never succeeded in creating their own body politic.—The treaty between Hungary and Kroatia in the twelfth century not only interrupted the growth of the Kroatian state, but postponed the development of South-Slavic unity for centuries. Every thinking man must admit

that South-eastern Europe owes its present aspect by which it is a menace to civilization, only to the absence of a strong South-Slavic State, which would have prevented the Turks from establishing themselves in Europe.—Hungarian policy has always aimed at undermining Kroatian independence, so that Hungary might reach the sea *across* Kroatia, just as in former times—this was written in 1860—Hungary sought to dominate Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, so that she might carry her power as far as the Balkan Mountains and the Lower Danube. The idea of South-Slavic unity, no matter whether it appeared in Kroatia, Serbia, or Bosnia, never had a more determined or ruthless enemy than Hungary. We see in South-Slavic solidarity the strongest guarantee for our national existence; but, rightly or wrongly, the Magyars see in it the grave of their own nationality. We look upon the liberation of the East as a primary condition for a better national future, whereas the Magyars look upon it as the beginning of their downfall or at least as the end of their claims to supremacy. The Kroats can honestly say to the Serbs: 'We do not aim at supremacy, because there can be no question between two branches of the same nation. Whatever you may achieve, we will gladly acknowledge it and join hands with you. You are masters of the Drina. May God bless your standards when you cross the river.' "

One of the modern students of the South-Slavic People, Dr. E. W. Seton-Watson, says rightly: "Only a radical solution of the Southern Slav question can assure permanent peace to the Balkan Peninsula. Without Southern Slav unity there can be no serious barrier to those designs of Pan-German hegemony from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf which prompted William IInd and his advisers to unchain a world-war." Gladstone wisely advised—"Balkan to the Balkan Peoples." In the days of the Italian national renaissance, Paccifico Valusi acknowledged most heartily the unification of the South-Slavs. In 1871 he said: "The

South-Slavic Unification is already solemnly affirmed."

Yes, history shows that the South-Slavs never seized upon the land of other nations, but on the contrary, that they were constantly robbed of their own. It is rightly pointed out by a Serbo-Croatian, Thomas F. Mack (in his article on *South-eastern and Central European Question*) that "to say that Jugoslavia will be democratic is merely to state the conclusion inevitable from the history of the South-Slavs. Democracy has been their ideal from the dawn of the race. That dawn was around the Fourth Century when they settled in the territories which they have occupied for the last fourteen hundred years. The dream of a united people did not come at first, and they established separate states: Slovenes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, Croatia in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries; Serbia in the Tenth to Fourteenth centuries and Bosnia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. The battles for liberty and against oppression began at once and never ceased. Teutons, Huns, Tartars, Venetians and Turks successively rolled against them in mighty waves; and now again it is the Teuton that comes to attempt conquest and obliteration. There in the Balkans the South Slavs knew no rest from battle and night alarm. Little time did they get to develop the arts of peace. Their lands were the battleground of the world. In the Middle Ages they turned back the Tartars and the Huns who strove to drive through to the South; when the mighty Doges of Venetia sought to obtain exclusive control of the Adriatic it was the South Slav who stopped them; and when the Turk tried to overrun Central Europe and the Christian world the South Slav beat him back. Their wars were not wars of conquest. They did not fight to extend dominion over others of alien race. They did not give battle to gratify the greed of dynasty or king. They fought always and solely for freedom, for the right to live as they pleased. But this sturdy spirit cost them dear.

"For through all the centuries of battle against the invading hordes coming from all sides against them, the Jugoslavs drew closer together and a dream of a great united state grew more and more in all men's minds until at last the actual plan for bringing it about was under way. The South Slavs were to join together with their center in Bosnia. Then the greatest Turkish invasion came. On and on rolled the forces of the Turk in a mighty tide. The little nations fought valiantly but alone they could not stop him.

"With an eye ever to the main chance, Austria now stepped forward, and, staring ruin in the face, the South Slavs accepted her oily proffer to aid. It spelled disaster. For what the Turk did not acquire, the Hapsburg seized. Taking advantage of the Slavic weakness, Austria succeeded little by little in incorporating the Slavic lands. Her last stay in this direction before she launched the Great War to seize Serbia and Montenegro, was to appropriate Herzegovina.

"It is little wonder that the famous English war correspondent of Kipling's novel, *'The Light That Failed,'* was forever seeing war clouds in the Balkans. They have always been there.

"And these wars have always been wars of principle likewise. For that democracy which actuates the Balkan peoples is grounded in the very roots of their being. They are the most democratic of all the Slavs. Russia has shown the world lately, and is continuing to show it, that the Slavs are democratic at heart. Yet Russia submitted for centuries to tyranny and class rule before throwing off the yoke. This the South Slavs never did. They had no tyrants. They have no classes. The nobility or privileged class does not exist either in Serbia or Montenegro. Nor is there any native nobility elsewhere among the Jugoslavs. The nobility of Bosnia is of Turkish creation; the nobles of Croatia are Austrian and Magyar, and the lords of Dalmatia and Istria

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Unification of all South-Slavs is the most natural example of the unification of the Western Slavs (Poles, Czechs and Slovaks), which will in turn form the long-cherished *Slavic Confederation*, the only natural, sure Confederation, the only safe way in solution of the Slavic political problem, which is the corner-stone of a United States of Europe.

Slavic enemies or those who are ignorant of real facts about the Slavs, claim that Pan-Slavism means selfish Russianism. Professor Masaryk points out very clearly that it is not so. In his recent lecture (published in *La Nation Tcheque*, Paris, 1916) he says that there is no fear of Pan-Russianism which is felt by some nations. He says:

"Up to the present time Russia has not under her power more than a part of that Slavic race, the different branches of which are so energetically claiming their national independence. On the other hand, Germany holds two Slavic nations under a very real yoke and Austro-Hungary oppresses four. The last mentioned Slavic nations, therefore, have Pan-Slavic aspirations to a greater extent than other States, and Havlichek used to describe these aspirations as 'Little Pan-Slavism.' In Hungary the accusation of Pan-Slavism is sufficient to condemn a man for high treason. Lately warnings against the Russian peril have increased at Berlin also, and Bethmann-Hollweg spoke of the Pan-Slavic danger in the same tone as the Viennese papers.

"The other nations do not fear the Slavic danger—at least, not to the same extent as the Germans and the Magyars.

"The error of this anti-Russian policy of the West arose from the fact that no account was taken of the other Slavic peoples, whom politicians regard as too insignificant to have any place in great world politics—those famous, world politics, imposing only in name!

"The smaller Slavic peoples, as may be readily understood, see a powerful protector in mighty Russia. It could

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To conclude. The great ... the Indo-European family co... —the Western, the Eastern a... group includes the Poles, Cze... second are the Russians whose... name of Rushnyaks or Ruthe... Hungary; and the third inclu... and Bulgarians.

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of its passions all the peoples of Europe and disturbing the world-peace to even a greater degree than the present great European war is doing. The social and political forces of attraction which have marked the past of the Slavic people will be the laurel crown which Slavdom will bear on entering the ranks of free and self-governing races. Yes, *Slavic Unity* is the *conditio sine qua non* to make diplomats and the nations of the world cautious and make them twice pause before they commit the blunder of dividing any Slavic nation or keeping it under foreign yoke. Here also—*Historia mater studiorum est!* . . .

Slavs are profoundly convinced that only unity can save them from ruin, and unity of the Slavic peoples is best expressed in the *Federation of the Slavs*, with independence of all these nations in their internal affairs. But nevertheless so united the Slavs need the support of a stronger nation, and this support can be found only in the Union or Confederation of all Slavs, that is in the Union of the Western and South-Slav Federation with the Eastern Slavs, i. e., Russia. Therefore, what the Slavs are striving for is, in the final goal, the *United States of Slavia* on the basis of the Swiss Federation or the Federation of the United States of America,[33] leaving to each Slavic nation to choose its own form of government.

But for the existence of mighty Russia, all the smaller Slavic nationalities would have been long ago annihilated by the Pan-German Block. The Austrian and Balkan Slavs have felt this more keenly than the Poles. Therefore, the hope of Slavdom is in Russia—in the Russia of the Russian Nation, in the Russia of Moscow which is Slav to the very bones. All true Slavs believe in Russia's future which her present gigantic struggle must bring about. This war must be Russia's rebirth, the regeneration of the Russian Nation, the Free Union of Slavdom.

The place of every Slavic nation inside the Slavic family,

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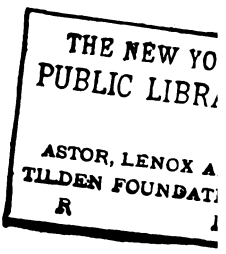
DR. THOMAS G. MASARYK

Czecho-Slovak; President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic; formerly Professor of Prague University; the greatest and sanest exponent of Slavic Federation.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by the Germans, we Slavs claim political liberty and national independence; and it is quite natural that sympathies of the Slavs should be guided by linguistic relationship, which facilitates intellectual and even commercial intercourse so much." (From *La Nation Tcheque*, Paris, 1916.)

These are Panslavistic aspirations. Are they really not just and not beneficial to humanity at large? Giuseppe Mazzini claims they are. In his *Lettere Slave* he says: "The Turkish and Austrian Empires are both irrevocably doomed. Italy must try to hasten their death. But the lances which shall slay them are in the hands of the Slavs. . . . The true objective of Italian international life, her most direct road to future greatness, lies in the direction of the most vital problem with which Europe is to-day confronted—in fraternity and alliance with the Slavs." In his *Politica Internazionale* Mazzini says:

"The nations destined to achieve their union, so that they may lead a healthy national existence and accomplish their task in Europe, are to-day unfortunately dismembered, divided, slaves to foreign powers, oppressed and hampered in their movements and legitimate aspirations."

Freedom and *Nationality* are the keys for solving the psychological puzzle in Pan-Slavic aspirations.[35] It is rightly said that Panslavism cannot be compared with Pan-Germanism, for the Pan-Germans appeal in vain to history; the facts are against them. It is a fact that the penetration and conquest of Russia by Germany have been going on since Peter the Great's time. They have been most thoroughly and scientifically organized in our day. The Essen altruists are continuing a long and strict tradition. The conquest of the Slavic territory, the occupation of Russian Poland, of Russia to Dvina and further, were urged by many German writers and statesmen of importance. Nearly forty years ago P. de Lagarde looked to the erection of a Central Europe, when "the Russians and the South Slavs are cleared

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rerum still consists of bayonet and cannon. There exists a state of law, but law of the stronger!

"But just as in organized states private violences gave way to civil suits, which was a great step forward in the respective states, just so public violences of nations, that is, wars, must be replaced by national processes in the organism of a republic—and that will be a decisive step forward of civilized mankind.

"And just as the invention of powder contributed toward abolishing private violence by disposing of individual violators, just so hopes of war help to abolish war. Just as powder and firearms ousted mediæval robbers from their haunts, just so modern strategic inventions develop warfare to more and more murderous power, abolishing it thereby. Just as private warfare, intensified by powder, had to stop, just so public warfare through the very force of its will must perish, and its perfection and violence will *ipso facto* abolish and overcome it.

"Peoples are called to common union. Human solidarity, hitherto only subjectively, ideally conceived in thought, will take on flesh and objectively will take its place in the public relations of the world. A regeneration of peoples will result in a world Republic of peoples who will not fight for influence, prestige or supremacy, but will co-operate and help one another, like the various members in a healthy organism."

In that sense Pan-Slavism is only a step towards the speedy realization of a *United States of the World*, for "*Free men are brethren*", a motto which we find repeated in President Wilson's speech to the Senate, "All free men are brothers." Yes, it is the blessing accorded this Slavic generation to have been chosen to fulfil—completely or partially, makes no difference—the prophecy of the great visionary Polish poet, Sigismund Krasinski (in his *Psalms of the Future*), who prayed three-quarters of a century ago:

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CHAPTER XXIII

EXPLANATION OF SLAVIC CHARACTER

HOW to explain the nature or the character of the Slav? What does science of psychology say of this *quaestio vexata?* Is it due to inheritance or environment or both? Victor Cousin, the famous French savant, says, "Tell me the geography of a country and I will tell you its future." Another Frenchman, Pascal, says that "rivers are walking roads," and by that road, the Dnieper, Christianity entered Russia. Lord Bacon, too, believes in the great influence of environment when he says, "There are three things which make a nation great and prosperous: a fertile soil, busy workshops and easy conveyance for men and goods from place to place." The Slavic nature is, no doubt, due both to his inherent psychophysical traits and to the bigness and variety of his environment, which is either *physical* (geographical region of living, topographical peculiarities, climate, etc.) or *mental;* this might be due (1) to unconscious or subconscious mind which correspond to the *Zeitgeist* or herd instinct—it is from this mental environment that fashions, customs, conventions and other ethnic compositions have their rise, and (2) to the vivid awaking consciousness of individual or collective body of a nation. But to what degree we do not know exactly, for we have not yet the required scientifically collected data for the study of the Slavs; and besides a new theory is gaining ground, viz., that environment is an indirect inheritance.

Let us take only one group of the Slavs, the Russians. No doubt, the immense size of Russia produces an element

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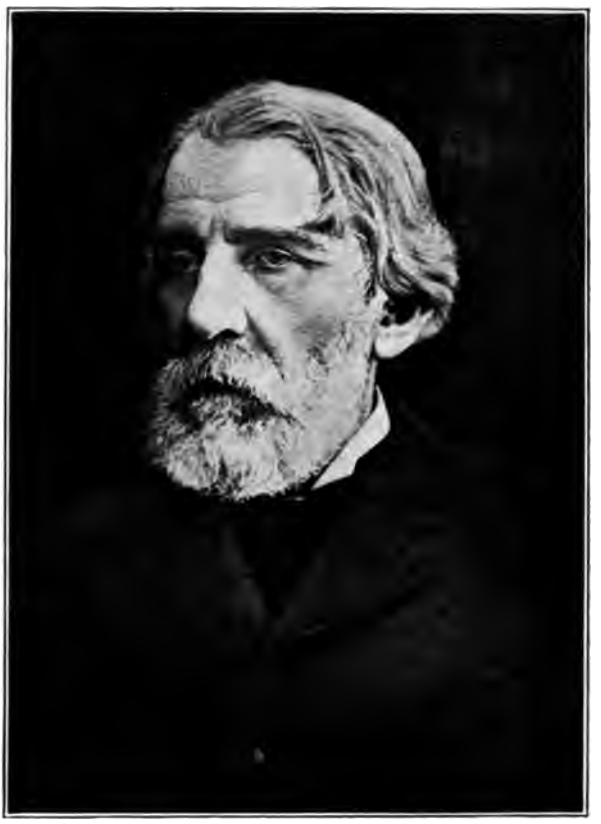
much harder, than the nature and conditions in which other nations live. On the confines of Asia, in the parched Kirghiz steppes, under the latitude of Central Russia, the mercury congeals and remains congealed for several days (in winter, the swamp is frozen over; the cold reaches the neighborhood of—60° Fahr., and the blasts from Siberia pile up mountains of snow, which almost bury the whole town), while in July the thermometer may burst in the sun. The cold is so intense in the Siberian forest region that now and then a tree splits open, making a noise like the report of a pistol. It is so cold that the warmth from the body of the bird, as it rises from the ground, often leaves behind a streak of steam. Characterized by a sudden change from extreme heat to extreme cold, and by a low average temperature, the eastern half of Europe is called upon to work much harder than other European nations for its daily bread and warm clothing. Accordingly the expenses of a poor Slav are much greater than those of a poor man in Western Europe.

The dreamy, docile temperament of the Slav and the attitude of mind engendered by centuries of oppression all combined to make the Russian an easy victim of tyranny. In the early middle ages the country suffered from horrible invasions of Mongols and Tartars. Then Russia, under a succession of powerful and often tyrannical rulers, slowly struggled out of a state of anarchy. Then we must remember that Mongolian blood as a result of the early invasions is very widely infused in the Russian people. The Mongolian race, however, is well-known to show a strong tendency to cruelty, while the Slavs are generally gentle, dreamy and submissive.

Quite apart from the many alien races and peoples on the frontier there are three main groups among the Russians themselves, differing—at least in degree—from one another not only in dialects, habits and disposition, but physically also! One of Turgenyev's characters, the gigantic Karlov, thus defined the men of his race: "We are all born with

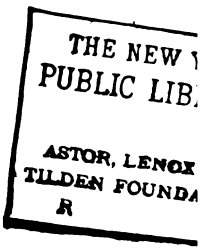
light hair, brilliant eyes, and pale faces; for we have sprung up under the snow." But the Great Russians (numbering about 80,000,000) are mainly blonde, with chestnut or auburn hair, light complexion and blue-colored eyes, and vigorous, with broad shoulders and bull necks, often sometimes clumsy, and with a strong tendency to corpulency. The Small Russians (numbering about 20,000,000), on the other hand, though possessing the head type of the eastern Slav, are predominantly dark, even swarthy, with brown eyes and dark brown hair.

A further difference appears in their stature or body height, for the Small Russians, despite their name, are big, and slender, considerably taller on the average than their brothers, the Great Russians. The reason for this is not easy to find, unless the greater stature of the Small Russians is but another reflection of the influence of physical environment. The Small Russians occupy the best land of Russia, the vast grazing steppes of the south and the fertile soil of the black earth belt in the "Black Earth" district or Little Russia proper, and in the Ukraine, which includes the provinces of Kiev, Poltara, Kharkov, and Tchernigov (the Russians have an expression, *chernoziom*, "the black earth" or "mould," meaning by it the broad and deep belt of fertile soil, *humus*, which extends from Podolia to Kazan and even across the Ural Mountains into Siberia; the wonderful fertility of this soil is ascribed to the slow decay of the grass of the steppes, which has been going on for centuries), and the consequent better nourishment extending over a long period of time, together with some admixture of old Polish stock, is, no doubt, responsible for their larger stature. The land of the White Russians (their name is probably derived from the white color of their clothing; they occupy the provinces of Minsk, Mohilev, Vilna, Vitelsk, and Grodno; they number about six millions) is heavily wooded and in parts marshy, the soil, like that of the Baltic provinces, being



IVAN SERGEYEVICH TURGENYEV

Russian; the greatest Slavic and European novelist; an incarnation of the Russian Slavism.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poor and unproductive. As his soil is not very fertile, and the agricultural facilities are limited, and as the White Russian is not sufficiently industrious or persevering to improve it by rational farming—these people are more apathetic than elsewhere in Russia, less inclined to adopt ideas with enthusiasm, nervous and excitable only when menaced by a dearth of food; they are the poorest and least advanced of the three Russian stocks. (The Kosaks or Cossacks are not a distinct stock, but are descended from the refugees and outlaws that occupied frontier districts between the settled and the nomadic tribes; they were afterward organized as a fronties militia as a light cavalry; they are found in the valley of the Don, in the Urals, and in Siberia.)

But it is not merely physically that the Small Russians differ from the Great and White Russians. They differ from them quite as much in language, in music, in disposition and habits of life.[2] The nature of the Great Russian has been influenced not only by a long history of subjugation to feudal despotism, but also by the gloomy forests, the unresponsive soil and the rigorous climate, and especially by the enforced inactivity of long winters. It is rightly said that he is melancholy and reserved, clinging absolutely to his traditions, and full of sacrificing devotion to Tzar, Church, and feudal superior. He is easily disciplined, and so makes an excellent soldier, but he has rather little capacity of independent thinking or of initiative. The average Great Russian is thus the mainstay of political and economic inertia and reaction. The language spoken by the three groups, though basically the same, differs so much that sometimes they cannot understand each other. One may be quite conversant with Muscovite and yet be unable to understand the Russian of the Ukraine. Indeed, on the border territory between Great and Little Russia villages are found where the two peoples have lived side by side for generations without mixing and without understanding each other's speech.

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particular home. The Russian faith owes its beauty, the Russian ideal its purity to this people, and to the race they have given the *All-Slav Ideal.* And they are the only Russian people whose soul has two faces, an outer and an inner one. The Russian sculptor Tsukov has symbolized them in a figure resembling a sunflower. It is as well to know that the Great Russian cannot live without sunflower-seeds. He calls them 'podsolnushki.' Everything is smothered in 'podsolnushki,' shells—streets, floors of rooms and railway carriages, even the corners in the churches. Every Great Russian munches 'podsolnushki.' It has an outer shell and a kernel. In Russia the sunflower is queen of the flowers, and as the sunflower is among the flowers so is the Great Russian among the Russian peoples. He is the true 'tsarskiya Rus.' The Tzar is the sun, the heart of the realm, and the Muscovite people are the 'podsolnushki.' Each individual is only one among many, a particle, a seed for the propagation and glorification of his own race. Probably the Great Russian has no equal in the world as regards idyllic simplicity. Not because he munches 'podsolnushki,' crosses himself in tram-cars when passing a church, goes about in big boots in the heat of summer, and drinks vodka, wine and beer without regard to time or season, but because he is a true yeoman soul. He is quite indifferent to all that does not interest him personally. The surface of his soul is as hard and impervious as the shell of the sunflower seed. His face wears an imperturbable, changeless expression. To reach the kernel of his *human* soul one has to discard every formality, thrust aside every obstacle, and *bite* into it as if it were a sunflower seed. If you abuse him roundly and 'have it out' with him, he suddenly shows himself in his true colors, the best and kindliest of souls; but if you handle him with kid gloves you will never get a glimpse of his inner nature. As an acquaintance the charm of the Great Russian consists chiefly in his sudden transition from sharp resistance to an

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tures is great. So, for instance, the mean January temperature at Moscow is 54° lower than that of July. The snow lies for many months over a large part of the vast Russian territory. The annual rainfall in northern and central Russia is moderate, being from 20 to 24 inches. As one goes south the rainfall decreases rapidly, averaging from 8 to 12 inches, and in the extreme south there is very little precipitation in the fall and winter, so that the period of vegetation is too short to permit the growth of trees. Thus we find the forests of northern Russia contrasted with the steppes of southern Russia, and this contrast makes itself felt in every department of economic and national life of the Russians. The forest districts begin at the Arctic circle, where the trees are coniferous. The mixed forest region covers central and western Russia as far south as the Black Sea. So the uniformity of the surface and the intensity of the Russian climate are both of them features of great importance in the character of the inhabitants and the history of the nation. Baring says:

"There is no doubt that the influence of the Russian climate on the Great Russians is twofold and produces two contradictory results. It leads them, firstly, to battle with the hostile forces of nature, for battle with them he must, as far as possible, in order to live, and consequently the struggle develops in him qualities of tenacity, energy, and strength, and secondly, it leads him to bow down and submit to the overwhelming and insuperable forces of nature, against which all struggle is hopeless. Thus it is that he develops qualities of patience, resignation, and weakness. This again accounts for that mixture in the Russian which more than all things puzzles the Western European, namely, the blend of roughness and good-nature, of kindness and brutal insensibility. The very fact that he has been hardened by his struggle for existence under separate conditions has taught the Russian to sympathize with the sorrows and sufferings

of his fellow creatures. Hence his kindness, his sympathy with the afflicted, the desolate, and the oppressed, which strikes everybody who has come into close contact with the Russian people. On the other hand, in the face of obstacles, not a natural hardness, but the stoicism which the bitterness of the struggle that taught him, gets the upper hand. And he applies to an adversary, an enemy, or to any person who has been found guilty of transgressing his code of laws, a brutal treatment, with the same inflexibility with which he would be ready to undergo it, should he be found guilty of an offence calling for a similar punishment. Hence the calm with which a Russian peasant will inflict a tremendous beating—even to death, if it be deemed necessary—on a horse-stealer, which equals the stoicism with which he would undergo the beating had he been detected in the crime and condemned to the same punishment. This insensibility, this desperate stoicism, has made people open their eyes when writers, speaking from personal experience, have affirmed that the Russian peasant is essentially humane, and more humane than other Europeans of the same class. Examples of brutality, whether in real life or in fiction, naturally strike the imagination and stick in the mind more easily than 'little unremembered acts of kindness and love,' whose very point is that they are unremembered." [8]

K. Waliszewski similarly explains the Russian melancholic nature. He says:

"Nature and history have alike dealt hardly with this people. A severe climate, an ungrateful soil, an unattractive landscape, poverty, serfdom, the Byzantine yoke, the autocratic régime, have all combined to make up a troubled existence, a rugged fatherland, a home devoid of charm. For a lengthening period, the only remedy the Russian could discover against these many enemies was that he found in his glass—intoxication. The primitive bards have lovingly sung the praises of this arch-consoler. The poets who have suc-

ceeded them—their superiors in inspiration and culture—have sought some other expedient, and have discovered none—save death.

"Yet the nation endowed with this ungrateful country, this inhospitable home, has loved both with a tenderness which I do not fear to call unexampled—so strong, so passionate, so jealous, so devoted does it appear to me. Perhaps this is because, in order to love what has so little that is lovable about it the Russian has been constrained to idealize the object of his love, to re-create it, as it were, by faith and imagination; and he thus succeeded in converting his love into a religion, a worship, a fanaticism.

"The natural literature, like the popular poetry, is saturated with this principle."

B. Pares, in his *Russia and Reform* (N. Y., Dutton, 1907, 576) gives the following explanation of them:

> There were always the greatest possibilities in the rivers of Russia. The chief of them flow eastward and southward, and these were therefore the lines along which Russian history would naturally travel. In the Volga and the Rama, Russia possessed a direct road to Siberia, and the lower Volga connected her with Central Asia. The Dnyéper directed her towards Constantinople.
>
> A poor soil and a hard climate meant a thin population—plenty of land, but few hands to work it. This helps to explain why estates came to be reckoned, not by the number of acres but by the number of "souls." Later the peasants, the real property, came to be fastened to the soil.
>
> The Slavs do not seem adapted by nature for these conditions. They are a people of feeling and fancy, reminding one of the Kelts, but more permanent in their moods, more serious and earnest in them, and therefore less quick of recovery. Feeling, by itself, seems a poor weapon to meet the tedious and recurring difficulties of Russia. No Slav race, except one, has made much out of its existence as a nation, and that one is a blend. Russia, at the beginning of its history, was largely peopled by tribes of more directly Asiatic origin, stolid and persevering Finns; these blended with Slavs to form the Great Russians, who are at once

Yet often, at the very bottom
patient purpose: only without h
under the prevailing condition
blaming of Providence, which is
sia one has no right to expect th
ly (p. 3).

There are certain instincts wh
tory; in every country where the
make a great people.

First, there is the instinct of
Lake Ilme knew what they nee
rich," they said to the Varanger c
come and rule over us." So beg
sand years ago, and so over and
has invited education from abro
now from Italy and Germany, no
now from France, but always fron
Her relations with the West we
The doors were either locked fast
open for instruction (p. 4).

The second great instinct is fa
pionship of it. Russia became C
prince, Vladimir (p. 5).

The third great principle of Ru
labor of the Russian people. Her
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first vigorous attempts to turn the fla
The position, the character

What makes the story of Russia so fascinating is this—that, taken as a whole, she has always only just a little more than equal to her immense difficulties. It was the constant versatile inexhaustible vitality of the people, always fresh in fancy, but always broken to patience, that made success possible. It is this varied map of humor, good-hearted patience and quaint resource which has given the body to Russian history (p. 7).

Russia has always with her the long and painful responsibility of being on the frontier between Europe and Asia. But then, too, she always had her own strong national existence, her family instinct of unity, her loyalty to her Church, of which she became the champion. The East had imposed on her necessity of a national dictatorship; but was already breaking up before her persistency. But, if she was to teach the East, she was also bound to learn from the West. This was the more difficult task of the hour (p. 15).

Or let us turn to the people of another Slavic land: *Poland.* From the geographical point of view it is an organic unity, a single indivisible whole. It belongs neither to the Russian conglomeration nor to the central European state as planned by the Prussians. The freedom-loving nature of the Polish people combined with the effective influence of the physical condition of the Polish territory was the formation of the first union of states—a union of *the free with the free, the equal with the equal,* as reads the official document of the union of Poland and Lithuania.

Professor W. Nalkowski claims that the Polish history and Polish national character are an outcome of geographical conditions. In his pamphlet, *Poland as a Geographical Entity* (translated from Polish and published by the *Polish Information Committee,* London, Allen & Unwin, 1917), Nalkowski lays emphasis on what Professor Herbertson calls the *genius loci,* interpreting geography in terms of national psychology. This *genius loci* Nalkowski sees in the transitional character of Poland. As Poland lies between other regions, it has characteristics intermediate between them. To quote him:

"Poland is a country which represents an open door between Western and Eastern Europe—that is to say, it is a passage-land, like the Dzungaria. It is a country in which the characteristics of Western Europe gradually mingle with those of Eastern Europe. It is in Poland that we find the western or eastern boundaries, where they meet, struggle, and combine. The result of this admixture is not mechanical, but so to speak, physiological. It is the reciprocal action of these different influences which gives a distinct color to all life, considered from the point of view both of history and geography. . . . The position of Poland is precisely a central one. It lies in the center, between the most northerly and most southerly points of Europe, midway between the North Cape and Crete and nearly midway between the westerly point of Ireland and the most easterly point of the Ural Mountains. As regards Ireland and the Urals, it lies, not exactly in the middle, but a little nearer the west. This central position of Poland in Europe is illustrated by the fact that the cartographer, Hammer, proposed for the map of Europe to take a globe sector with a central point of Warsaw. . . . The Poles settled on the gangway between the west and east of Europe, became geographically selected as the middlemen of civilization. Geographical conditions imposed on them the task of receiving the civilization of the West and passing it on to the East. But this task the Poles managed to perform only in part, and then fell into erring ways, because the same geographical conditions made them the bulwark of civilized Christian Europe against the incursions from the south-east of the Moslem barbarians of Asia. Constant conflicts with the unbelievers evolved in the Poles, Catholics as they were, fundamental qualities recalling the Spaniards: chivalry, ambition, and religiousness; wars with the 'infidels' were wars of 'the Lord'—i. e., of God—and the warriors bore the name of 'the faithful.' 'Religion brought about their docility to Rome, chivalry, the

preponderance of the warrior class or nobility, and contempt for other classes even when they captured cannon with hands black from the plough. . . .' Finally, a life full of war's alarms has much the same results as in volcanic districts: a certain carelessness of the morrow, a hand-to-mouth existence, frivolity, disinclination for systematic work. 'The Poles,' declared Napoleon, 'do everything from enthusiasm, and nothing by system.'"

Professor E. Romer of the University of Lemberg also demonstrated the influence of the physiography of the country upon the historical development. He epitomized his views in a short essay (*Poland: the Land and the State,* in the *Geographical Review,* vol. IV, No. 1, July, 1917): "The affluents of the Vistula, more numerous from the east than is the case with any of the other river systems to the west, would indeed seem to have assigned to Poland an eastward expansion on a scale impossible in the west, where the lowland belt is narrower. How different the map of Europe might now be had not the Poles been a people whose social and political institutions were directly opposed to the spirit of conquest! . . . The boundaries which the various partitions of Poland have introduced into the political map of Europe have been destructive and not constructive. Rivers which once pulsated with life have now become merely dead border lines. The actors in the crime perpetrated upon the Polish nation separated themselves from one another by boundary lines that followed rivers. Assuredly strife would not be long in breaking out again."

To ward off the East from the West was Poland's main mission and she faithfully realized it at the expense of her intellectual progress. M. Leblond says rightly: "Poland at all times had to be maintained in arms while others had plenty of leisure for development—through historic necessity she remained well after the Middle Ages a chivalrous nation of Knight-errants who so valiantly kept watch in the face

of Eastern anti-Christian barbarians that she could, in a noble presumption, command the respect of Europe, as she guarded the individualism of her heroic warriors." In the words of Michelet: "When Europe chattered idly, disputed over Indulgences, lost itself in subtleties, these heroic guardians were protecting it with lances. In order that the women of France and Germany might peacefully spin their distaff and their men study their theology, the Poles, keeping sentry, only a step from the barbarians, were on the watch, saber in hand. If perchance they fell asleep, their bodies would remain at the post, their heads would go to the Turkish camp. . . . Europe, forgetful, heedless, no more appears to know the supreme danger which threatened it in the last decades of the Middle Ages and from which it was saved. . . ."

Some Slavic paradoxes already have been explained. A. Leroy-Beaulieu also explains the rapidly alternating moods and abrupt contrasts and changes in Slavic nature by the influence of the climate. He claims that these sudden and rapid changes are the reflection of the extremes of climate, the long cold winter, the torrid summer, and the spring and autumn during which one experiences often from day to day changes from extreme heat to extreme cold.[4] Baring adds that this theory seems plausible, but one might quote instances of other climates which are equally mutable and fickle and equally rich in abrupt changes and sharply contrasted extremes, but which fail to have a similar effect on the people of the countries to which they belong. It is, therefore, some inherent power which is playing its rôle here. But whatever may be the cause of it, this mobility is characteristic, what is in part the "hallmark" of all the Slavs. As a race the Slavic peoples were characterized by a peaceful disposition, in comparison with that of the nations with which they had to contend. This reputation they owed also, no doubt, to their agricultural life, in distinction to the pas-

toral habits of the Avars, Huns, or Germans. (A very good explanation of the South-Slavic soul is just published by a Serbian University Professor, Jovan Cvijich, in his book entitled, *Géographie humaine et Sociologie de la Peninsule Balkanique*, Paris, Armard Colin, 1918. See especially the chapter dealing with the *Classification psychique de Yougoslaves*. This book is based on Professor Cvijich's lectures delivered at Sorbonne in 1917 and 1918.)

Physical conditions under which Slavic people, especially Russians, live involve a greater percentage of mortality than in other European countries. It amounts to about 34 per thousand inhabitants. This figure in England amounts to 22.5 per thousand; in France, 31.4; in Germany, 36.5; in Austria, 31.3; in Italy, 30.25, etc.

According to the *Statistik des deutschen Reiches* (No. 44, p. 71), out of 100 born living, there die during the first year, in European Russia—29.6 (and in Prussia—21.2). The relative figures of mortality seem to be stationary in different countries—only the absolute figures of population change. Levasseur, in his *La population français* (v. III, chapter VI), gives the following table for the changes in relative population during the nineteenth century:

No.	Countries	Population in	
		1801	1891
1	*Russia in Europe*	*40,000,000*	*93,703,000*
2	France	26,000,000	38,218,903
3	Germany	25,000,000	49,424,135
4	Austro-Hungary	25,000,000	41,284,966
5	Italy	17,500,000	30,158,408
6	Great Britain and Ireland	16,300,000	37,888,152
7	Spain	6,000,000	17,246,688

These figures are very instructive, for one of the most certain indices of the potential strength of any nation is

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According to A. Newsh
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The physical surface in Eastern Europe is doubtless coarse and poor in regard to the impressions which affect the human soul. It is, therefore, remarkable that deep emotion could be developed in the soul of a people who live in such a swampy and monotonous country, almost without any of those charms and natural colorings which are so common to the rich countries of Europe. How could such a uniform monotonous country develop such a great national Slavic soul?

This fact is a real psychological puzzle. Thanks to its geographical position between Europe and Asia, thanks to its historical situation, between a series of anvils whereon the Byzantine priest, the Tartar soldier and the German free-lance have taken turns in hammering out its genius, Slavic people, especially the Russians, young and old at once, have not yet found their orbit nor their true balance. In the past and the recent times of Slavic life we see a waste here and an extreme refinement there. Some have called it rotten ere it was ripe. Prematurely ripe, indeed, with a distracting medley of savage instincts and ideal inspirations, of intellectual riches and moral perjury. *Natura abhorret vacuum*, for the longer national infancy, the better national manhood, and happier old age.

The outer nature of the great European valley, giving to its inhabitants no comfort in temperature, no wind and strong impression, has forced the bulk of Slavic people to look at its own inner self to find impressions which will uplift the human soul. I should say that it will not be exaggerated if we state that the *Slav is characterized by his inclination toward inner observation, inner analysis, especially toward moral introspection.* The outer shinings do not very much attract a Slav. He is able to live without the comforts of an Englishman, without the fineries of a Frenchman—he is satisfied with simplicity, he does not care for luxury, and above all things he likes a warm soul and a sincere heart. Even

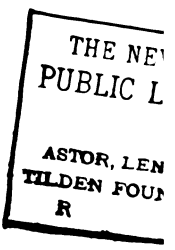
the educated Slav gives apparently little response to the actual demands of living. He is more or less the victim of fancy and temperament, which sometimes lead to a despondent slackness, sometimes to emotional outbursts. Here we have perhaps the explanation of the Slavic want of organization, Slavic disorder and Slavic waste of time in many directions. This characteristic finds expression especially in the word which is forever on Russian lips—*Nitchevo* ("It does not matter"). A careful observation of international galleries of paintings will involuntarily disclose the pale colorings of Russian paintings (for instance, the paintings of Verestchagin), but, on the other hand, their psychological insight is found in the works of Slavic master-writers (Lermontov, Turgenyev, Gogol, Dostoyevski, Petar Petrovich-Njegush, Lazar K. Lazarevich, Slowacki, Artzibashev, Mickiewicz, Gundulich, Tolstoy, Sienkiewicz, etc.), where the deep psychological analysis comes first, and then the description. Accordingly, the *Mental Culture*—in contrast to Natural Culture—is the most fundamental trait of the Slavic national genius. It is a habit of moral analysis.

To prove this great quality of the Slavic soul, we might use also the statistical data or facts on international suicides, crimes, and felony. We have seen how large a percentage of Russian people die in the struggle with physical nature. The mortality due to sickness exceeds the death cases of all other European nations. But it is wonderful to see how the same people show an immense power of moral self-preservation which is saving them from such great evils as suicide and crime. A comparison of suicides [5] in different European countries shows that the Slavs are least affected by such an act, for in a million of inhabitants there are: [6]

(1)	in Saxony (1902–6)	324 suicides
(2)	" France (1900–4)	227 "
(3)	" Denmark (1901–5)	227 "
(4)	" Japan (1905)	209 "
(5)	" Prussia (1902–6)	201 "

VASILI V. VERESTCHAGIN

The great Russian painter, soldier, traveller.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(6) " Austria (1902)..... 173 "
(7) " Sweden (1900–4)..... 147 "
(8) " Bavaria (1902–6)..... 141 "
(9) " United States (1907)..... 126 "
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(11) " Australasia (1903)..... 121 "
(12) " England and Wales (1900)..... 100 "
(13) " Norway (1901–5)..... 65 "
(14) " Scotland (1905)..... 65 "
(15) " Italy (1901–5)..... 64 "
(16) " Ireland (1906)..... 34 "
(17) " European Russia (1900)..... 30 "
(18) " Portugal (1906)..... 23 "
(19) " Spain (1893)..... 21 "

Thus it can be known that each country has a different suicide-rate, and that while the rate for each country may fluctuate from year to year, yet it maintains practically the same relative proportions to the rate of other countries. The following table of Alphonse Bertillon (*Élements de Démographie*, Paris, 1896, p. 119), showing the suicide for various European countries, is a good supplement of the just quoted table:

No.	Country	Period of Observation	Annual Number of Suicides in one million Inhabitants
1	Saxony.....	1878–1882	392
2	Denmark.....	1880–1882	251
3	Switzerland.....	1878–1882	239
4	Baden.....	1878–1882	198
5	Wurttemberg	1877–1881	189
6	France.....	1878–1882	180
7	Prussia.....	1878–1882	166
8	Belgium.....	1878–1882	100
9	Sweden.....	1878–1882	92
10	England and Wales..	1878–1882	75
11	Norway.....	1878–1882	69
12	Scotland.....	1877–1882	49
13	Ireland.....	1878–1882	17

James J. O'Dea, in his book, *Suicide* (N. Y., Putnam, 1881, p. 199), gives the following table for national suicides:

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to be easily tempted to take
nations are thought of as light
take the ills of life seriously
the fact that the highest rate
Germany. Still farther, those
the purest Germanic blood sh
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The extremely high suicide r
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gists, but it has never been sa
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be due, rather, to an inherent s
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men, women, and children. The
who between 1877 and 1885 we
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t among men, may be due not to their comparative im-
ıity from suffering, but from (a) a greater power of
ient, passive endurance, when there is no fight to be made;
a mind and heart that are more influenced by feelings
ıotions, sentiments) and beliefs that may be called relig-
ı; and (c) a peculiar capacity for self-restraint and self-
ıervation, based on the maternal instinct, i. e., on closer
more intimate relations with, stronger love for, and
ıter devotion to young children. It is also interesting to
ɜ the proportion of military suicides to civilian suicides
Russia and other countries (which is rather hard to ex-
n):

ɔ.	Countries	Proportion of Military Suicides to Civilian Suicides
	Prussia	1½ to 1
	England	2½ " 1
	Italy	5 " 1
	United States	8½ " 1
	Austria	10 " 1
	Russia	*11* " *1*

ı careful study of suicides during a long period of time
ɔoth Slavic and non-Slavic European nations, shows a

Countries	Annual Number of Suicides per Million of Inhabitants				
	1851–1855	1861–1865	1871–1875	1887–1891	1901–1910
England and Wales	64	66	66	81	90
Prussia	130	122	134	197	202
Saxony	240	264	299	322	326
France	100	125	150	218	224
Belgium	—	55	68	120	137
Italy	—	28	35	52	71
Denmark	272	288	258	253	96
Sweden	71	76	81	119	151
Norway	107	85	73	66	51
Russia	*29*	*31*	*30*	*30*	*31*

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(1) in France had a suic
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one moment more." It recognize
the human

Socrates said rightly that it is easier to save ourselves from death than from crime. Figures given by moral statistics and figures for suicides might serve as a measuring-rod for moral suicide. Comparing the figures which refer to the horrible forms of crime in different European countries, we get the following tabular presentation of those statistical data:

No.	Country	Crimes per Million Inhabitants
1	Italy	96
2	Spain	55
3	Austria	22
4	France	15
5	*Russia*	*10*
6	Germany	9
7	England	6

As is shown by this table, Slavic Russia is represented by a, comparatively speaking, very small number of crimes. In the number of those who have been convicted for theft, the Slavic Russia excels other countries, as is indicated in the following table:

No.	Country	Convicted of Theft in a Million Inhabitants
1	Germany	1840
2	England	1385
3	France	1128
4	*Russia*	*482*

In regard to moral crimes, and according to Montesquieu, they are worse for a state than a violation of the laws—we have the following figures:

No.	Country	Moral Crimes in a Million Inhabitants
1	France	21.4
2	Italy	7.4
3	*Russia*	*3.7*

Here also Russia is at an advantage, a fact which must be taken in account in the study of the Slavic nature. The notion that Russia is a humane country may sound strange to the English-speaking countries. Yet capital punishment, which is still part of the legal system in England and America, was abolished in Russia as long ago as 1753 by the Empress Elizabeth, except for cases of high treason. From 1855 to 1876 only one man was executed, and from 1876 to 1903 only 114 were executed in the whole of that vast empire, including the outlying districts such as Caucasus, Transbaikalia, and Turkestan. On the other hand, between the years 1905 and 1908 the total of executions reached the appalling figure of 3,629. This is but to translate into criminal statistics the story of the martial law which reigned in Russia during the period of revolution in 1905 to 1908. Even if we say that the Tzar wore the "black cap," and that the hangman's rope was manipulated by the bureaucracy, it is a fact that the jury who brought in the verdict was a jury of about 150 million peasants.

This attitude of mind is reflected in the Russian Code of Laws. (See: Lehr's *Legislation Pénale de la Russie*, Paris, 1879.) A. Leroy-Beaulieu, Tagantsev, Baring and others point out the fact that the Russian Penal Code is the most lenient in Europe, for it is characterized by the leniency of the punishment laid down by law for offences which in other countries are dealt with drastically and severely. The primitive Slavic folkmotes included the common people, and were convened, not periodically, but as often as some question of state arose requiring public discussion. In early times the decisions of the people were unanimous, i. e., the minority, if it could not convert the majority to its way of thinking, was forced to acquiesce in the common decision. Any one who refused assent during the meeting was beaten with rods. Opposition to the vote of the majority, after the assembly, was punished by the loss of the dissentient's property, which

FEODOR M. DOSTOYEVSKY

Russian; the greatest Slavic dissector of the human soul as it is revealed by his numerous novels translated almost into all modern languages.

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was often destroyed by fire unless he was ready to redeem it by a sum of money, varying according to his rank.

To conclude. Although it is very hard at present to give a detailed explanation of the Slavic nature, it is a fact that the moral height of the Slav is a characteristic which is so jealously preserved by him. Of course, to preserve such a moral height is not an easy task. It requires much painstaking work and effort. A nation living according to the rule—*It is better to die than to fall morally*—has to use much physical power and energy for its moral self-preservation. This energy is not measured by the number of palaces, or railroads, or battleships, or aeroplanes, or any other material wealth. It is not, moreover, measured even by the intellectual abilities, for the main thing is not to think well, but to act accordingly. Such an energy cannot be identified even at the cost of some higher factor, but is exhibited in the form of a collective moral perfection, in the form of a moral instinct and moral behavior, which includes all phases of the mental life of a nation.

To keep awake this high human instinct is the greatest and hardest task, a task which cannot be reached without painstaking expenditure of physical and psychophysical powers. It is a natural law. Nobody will deny that in the struggle with coarse nature we have to expend much physical energy. Physiology and psychology show also that moral self-preservation demands an expenditure of physical energies, and even more than any hard physical, manual work. An animal uses much energy in order to hear with its ears, to see with its eyes, and to be alert with its other sense organs. How much energy is needed for care of the national or racial consciousness! We might, therefore, say with full right, that a higher moral self-preservation of a nation or of a race involves a higher expenditure of physical energy. The Serbian national moral maxim—*Rather lose your life than that the soul should have a stain thereon*—might be

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CHAPTER XXIV

GENERAL CONCLUSION

LET us summarize the most important points in this study. Taking in account all the foregoing facts and explanations, only a psychological Don Quixote or a political *Ding fuer Alles* has scientific courage to say that the Slav is barbarian and deadly enemy of Culture and Civilization of our Humanity. Only by a very wide, impersonal view—a long perspective—in which the Slavic Nations and their immediate needs are merged in the continued welfare of the human race, can we see, "as through a glass, darkly," the vast outlines of eternal good for our Humanity.

It is a fact that the Slav has for more than ten centuries been the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, Huns, Tartars, Avars, and other tribes of Mongolian origin. When civilization was threatened by the Turks and Tartars, Slavs stood ever ready to take the defensive, so that to-day it is no more difficult to imagine the fate of Rome had Hannibal conquered it or the fate of the European Powers had Napoleon Bonaparte not been defeated at Waterloo, than it is to imagine the fate of Christianity and civilization in Europe had the Slavs not stayed the wave of the desolating barbarians: Western Europe was as a rampart against barbarian invasions, and the Slavs stopped with their body an invasion of the Tartars; they formed a bulwark against the Turkish deluge. What vast difference that might have been to the detriment of Western Civilization and Culture if the Slav did not for more than a thousand years resist the westward march of Asiatic barbarians on many a glorious battlefield,

immortally inscribed in the history of mankind! . . . Who may know if the Latins, Gauls, and Anglo-Saxons would have advanced from darkness, and taken the world with them as they did, if it were not for the heroic Slav battling the hordes of Satan on the eastern and southern borders of Europe. In one word, the Slav toiled but for others; he suffered for others; he died for them; he really deserves the Christian epithet, *Servus servorum Dei* (slave of the slaves of God), which was the proud subscription which the haughtiest of the mediæval Popes placed at the end of their letters. . . .

Only those foreign students of the Slavs who studied them by first hand information are able to say with the French genius, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), the well-known Orientalist and critic:

"The coming of the Slavic nations on the world's stage is a remarkable phenomenon of this age. Slavic people begin to have a decided influence not only in the political but also in the cultural life of nations. The future will show what humanity will get from this wonderful Slavic Genius, with its ardent faith, its depth of intuition, its individual idea of life and death, its martyr spirit, its thirst for the ideal."

The mental structure differs from that of other peoples, if not in type at least in degree. Judged superficially, the Slavs seem to be retarded in culture. Though geographically, climatically, and otherwise handicapped, they gave to the world Copernicus before Galileo, Kepler and Newton; Hus before Martin Luther; Comenius before Pestalozzi and Froebel; Boshcovich before Kant; Petrovich-Njegosh before Darwin, and Nikola Tesla before Marconi. If there is any real cultural retardation of the Slavs it is due to their want of educational facilities and constant oppression. No doubt, the Slavs will give a great proof that there exists a race which lives only for a high moral standard in life and art.

Slavic future is guaranteed by their physical nature, by their psycho-physical character and by their mentality as in-

dicated in their latent abilities, linguistic traits, national poetic impulse, religious-moral inspiration, and political-social ideals. The Slavic peasant, both by temperament and by habit, responds naturally to co-operative effort,[1] and it is here that his genius finds self-expression. Russian "Mir," "Artel," and "Svietelka"; Serbian "Zadruga," "Pozaymitza," "Moba" and "Esnaf," and Montenegrin "Bratstvo" are splendid proofs for it. Slavic nature is democratic and not aggressive, autocratic and militaristic, as has been so, from the earliest times of Slavic history. The Slavic folklore, the Slavic legends, the Slavic popular poetry, show very clearly how the Slavic character is extremely democratic. The popular literature and religion of the Slavs—especially those of the Russians and Serbs—are remarkable for the profound love of peace and democracy. The Slavic co-operative instincts, shared by all social animals, is the basis of all human civilization and industry.

Slavic future is guaranteed by their intellectual talent, originality, sense of beauty, resourcefulness, and especially by their behavior indicated by (1) the high philosophic national *melancholy* and healthy *sadness* of the Slavs; (2) by their unusually strong *suffering* and wonderful *patience* which is a needful perseverance; (3) by their *idealism* which is nothing more than *Humanity Love* and real *Christian Sympathy* which calls for action as consecration to duty; (4) by their sane *humility*, natural *simplicity*, and most sincere *frankness* for truthfulness which demands uprightness of speech, as well as of action; (5) by their higher conception of the *strength of will* and a peculiar *fatality*, and (6) by their peculiar *paradoxes* which do not petrify, mechanize and automatize human nature, but indicating a plasticity which is of mind, getting rid of old habits and combinations, and seeing new relations in the environment. Merezhkovsky's parallel of Slavs with the rest of Europe indicates a good deal of truth: "We are your underside . . . your

power is phenomenal—ours transcendental. . . . You are Apollonian, we Dionysian . . . Your genius is of the definite, ours of the infinite."

These traits of Slavic character assume more or less obedience, honesty, unselfishness, usefulness, industry, self-respect, purity, self-control, self-reliance, fortitude, courage, heroism, contentment, ambition, temperance, courtesy, comradeship, amiability, kindness even to animals, justice, fidelity, determination, imagination, hopefulness and the real patriotism which does not stick at special political or religious party but includes a national solidarity of those who are fighting in action and speech for the higher ideals of humanity. Peaceful humanity is a great Slavic ideal. After the end of paganism, as before it, warlike subjects played a very little rôle in the religious thoughts of the mass of the Slavic peoples. Even when the pagan divinities of the Slavic tribes were Christianized they did not on that account lose their pacific nature.

Why, then, are some foreign countries afraid of the Slavs, especially of the mightiest and ablest of them, the Russians? In the imagination of many foreigners, Russia was something Asiatic, something connected with the barbaric Orient, a wild country beyond the horizon. Russia was considered as lacking in culture and civilization, and as a menace to the Occident. Even for their neighbors, the Germans and English, the Russians remained the apaches of Europe, wild tribes of the steppes. In the popular imagination of many foreigners, which invariably seizes upon a single point, three well-known things stand out as representative of Russia—(1) the Tzar, (2) the Cossacks, and (3) the Siberian penal system—and the vast unknown spaces between these three have been filled in with the dark colors of oppression and corruption by the Russian bureaucracy, so that a Russian is looked upon as an outcast of evolution, an exile of the ages. And that foreign world which has looked at Russia

as a land of wide steppes, of frozen ground, hungry bears and desperate Cossacks, forgets the fact that this is the Russia of the autocratic system and the next to it is a Russia of his civilization and the highest arts.[2]

Prince Serge Wolkonsky, in his *Pictures of Russian History and Russian Literature* (London, 1898, pp. 5-8) reduces foreign ignorance of Russian affairs to three reasons: (1) historical, (2) linguistic and (3) psychological reasons.

(1) In regard to the *historical reason* he says: "Only since Peter the Great, that is, for little over two hundred years, has Russia taken an active part in European history; before that, commercial relations, exchange of extraordinary embassies, and a few marriages of Russian princesses with foreign sovereigns in the very early period of our history, were the only occasions when Europe heard of Russia: Russia lived for herself and did not trouble about Europe."

(2) The *linguistic reason* is indicated as follows:

"Western Europe has been divided among the two great families of the Aryan group: the Latin and the German. Their long cohabitation, commercial intermingling, and political intercourse helped them to know each other: any man, even if he knew no language but his own, felt an inborn relationship with all nations of his family,—consequently was philologically related to half Europe. This of course furthered, if I may say so, his historical sociability. The Russian language, though of the same great Aryan group, belongs to the Slavic family, therefore a Russian could feel no inborn relationship with any of the Western European nations. The antique Latin culture which has been the great unifying force which amalgamated the western nations of Europe, had not included Russia within its historical evolution. Russia has no direct intellectual inheritance from antiquity, she received a portion of it by way of Byzantium, but she did not participate in the common growth of European nations: before she had conquered by force that which belonged to

others by right of birth, she had been regarded as not belonging to the common European family. That sort of instinct which is inspired by the mystery of an unknown language had for a long time denied to Russia the social equality which other European nations granted to each other on the historical arena."

(3) The *psychological reason* Wolkonsky mottoes with the words of Prince Viazemsky, who in his *Lettres d'un Vétéran russe* (Paris, 1870), says:

"If you want an intelligent Englishman or Frenchman to talk nonsense, let him emit an opinion on Russia: it is a subject which intoxicates him and at once clouds his intellect." [3]

Prince Wolkonsky adds: "People usually form a certain amount of *a priori* ideas of a country, and when they get there, rather than open their brains for new impressions and new influences, they are interested in taking notice of the slightest facts that can be registered as a confirmation of their ideas: they want, at any cost they want, reality to match their opinions. Instead of a voyage of discovery, it becomes a voyage of 'constatations.' I remember an American girl who frankly confessed that she did not like Russian novels representing Russian life; she thought things they pictured were not original enough, lacking 'local color'; she much preferred English novels *about* Russia, they were so much more 'Russian.' This is characteristic. The 'Rusisan novel' as known in English and French literature acquires a sort of exotic charm; snow and wolves and police agents, with the threatening prospect of Siberia in the background, give to the pictures of our human passions that same varnish which other authors try to give them by transporting their stories into Central Africa or to New Zealand. By a strange tendency of their pen, or perhaps because they supplied the demand of the greater portion of their readers, these authors in the things they described—whether right or wrong—seemed to turn their atten-

tion exclusively in one direction; thus the name of our country came to possess the sad property of evoking horrible pictures of violence and slavery. We will not discuss—we are not here for polemics; we will still less pay attention to those countries which are politically interested in exciting appetites to which our philosopher (he means Vladimir Solovyev) gives the picturesque appellation of 'international cannibalism.' "

It is a fact that the only source of information about the Slavs to be had by the Western World was through German channels, and it being the height of absurdity to expect compliments from one's tyrant, the Slav is, therefore, not surprised at the mistaken conception of the Slavs in general.

What is said about the Russian, is also true for other Slavs, who, as a whole, constitute a real unity. Nobody can deny this unity. Both the old and the modern Slavic experts on the Slavs prove that the national mind of Slavic people is rooted in ages upon ages of life—a life that has manifested itself in numberless ways. In order to understand what is taking place in the Slavic Mind to-day one must have the salient features of this historic background before one's eyes. For the forces that are remaking Slavdom have not swept down gale-like from clear skies: they have had their inception and their development in Slavic past. This past indicates brilliantly the tendency for the unification of all the Slavic tribes on the basis of humanity-loving principles. So, for example, Professor Masaryk said recently in his above mentioned lecture concerning the unity of the Slavic peoples:

"We are obviously confronted by a group of distinct nations, each with its own language, its national literature, its civilization; but these differences do not hide the existence among them of a general consciousness—the feeling that they all belong to a single Slavic organism. The Slavs are much more closely united from the linguistic and intellectual point

of view than the various groups of other races are with one another. From the geographical point of view the contact of the Slavs with one another is also much closer than that of the various Germanic peoples. They are not separated by the sea."

Who can prevent this natural Unification of the Slavs? An artificial *Pan-Germanism?* Never! It is rightly observed by all thinking people that the German autocracy, like German *Welt-Politik*, is, no doubt, dreaming of fastening its system upon the Czecho-Slovaks, the Poles, the Slovenes, Serbo-Croats and the Bulgarians. That great *Mitteleuropa* of Prussian dreams was in fact a Central European State in which the Germans made use of millions of Slavs as their slaves and their servants, their "cannon fodder" and their industrial machines. The Prussian statesmen have long perceived an inevitable conflict between the Germans and the Slavs. They foresaw that if the Slavic people were united Germany would not only be outnumbered, but her *Drang nach Osten* would be forever barred along the Danube and her eastern marches on the lower Visla threatened. Germany foresaw that Bohemia would become a Slavic citadel in the heart of Germany and that in the longer future Germany herself, like France and Italy, would be relegated to the position of a secondary power in a world which belonged to the Slavs and to the Anglo-Saxons. The Prussian statesmen foresaw that unless Germany could expand, unless Germany could divide the Slavic world and bind the Austrian Slavs (Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbo-Croats) and the Austrian as well as the Balkan Slavs (Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro, and Bulgarians) to the Prussian chariot, the inevitable expansion of Slavdom might some day eliminate Germany as a world power. Considerable as was the annual increase of German population, that of Russia was growing by leaps and bounds, and the hour when Russia should recognize herself was recognized by thoughtful

Prussians as the hour which would see the extinction of Prussian dreams of world power. Germany struck in 1914, when Russia had succeeded in building in Serbia a temporary Slavic barrier against German expansion to the Near East. Prussians calculated that Russia was still too weak, too unorganized, too divided, to oppose that resistance which a few decades later would be beyond German resources to stem. The Slavs followed the voice of their intuition, the whisper of their Slavic soul. They instinctively perceived that the question at issue was a fundamental question; a problem of liberation of the Slavic people in Austro-Hungary, the protection of the Serbian Slavs as the leaders in the unification of the South-Slavs and the acquisition of that gateway to the warm seas so long denied, first by England and then by the German veto. The Slavs accepted the war, and they have now declared that the war shall be fought out. No man can calculate the numbers the Slavic frontiers will hold a century hence, but it is plain that if the Slavic peoples can achieve unity and independence now, the mere passage of time will make a new German attack futile. Prussian dream of European supremacy can be blocked only by new and strong Slavic states along German frontiers, by the erection of independent South-Slavic States on the Adriatic and the Danube (for which Serbia is fighting) and in free Slavic states, Bohemia and Poland, which will effectually and permanently bar Prussian pathways to the Near East. In that way Prussia will lose her only great ally in Europe, for Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will disappear as a state, and Prussian Germany will find herself as France found herself after the conquest of Vienna. . . .

The spirit of the Slavic Unity is expressed beautifully by the first Panslavic poet, Jan Kolar, whose sonnets on *The Daughter of the Slavs* (1824) sound wonderfully:

"I have told you one hundred times, let us be a unity and not fractionary; let us be all, or—nothing! They call us pigeon-

Some taught poor Europe h
sailors to rich shores. Others
the stomach of the earth in
enrich the people. They tau
the plough the dry breasts of
golden wheat. They planted
the Slavs, near quiet roads in
odours. Men taught their son
in merchandise, and the wom
make cloth. Industrious peop
your services? Just as a bumb
beehive and kills the bee-quee
breaking neighbours subjugate
on their necks. . . .

"Slavia! Slavia! the name ful
ries, the name a hundred times
worshipped. From Ural to Car
equator extends up to the region
extends thine empire. You suff
all the attentates of your enemi
ness of your children. And so
soft earth, you raised your thr
lated with the ages.

"O, you, old ages, which pr
earth, image of all shames. T
faithless Laba to the hungry
sound of the Slav echoed. And
unjustice which

he who chains the hands or tongue, is the same.

"What is lacking to the Slavs, in order to be a great nation and conqueror of the world? Nothing. We have everything, believe me, my dear compatriots, everything which is able to put us among the great nations, ripe nations of the world. Land and sea are beneath our feet; we have gold, silver, industrious hands, language and fine songs: all we need is unity and cultural opportunities. Give them to us, give them to us, give us the all-Slavic spirit, and then you will have a people which has not existed in the past. Besides the Greeks and Britons your name will shine beneath the starry heavenly covering.

"What will happen with us Slavs in three hundred years? What will be the whole Europe? Slavic life will extend, like the deluge, its power to all parts. This language, which is considered in the false ideas of the Germans as the slave language, will echo over the roofs of palaces and even the mouths of our enemies will be silenced. Then the sciences will pour through Slavic channels. Customs and songs of our people will be in fashion at the Seine and Laba. Ah! I wish I could be born at that age of Slavic empire or at least to resurrect myself from out of the grave." . . .

A Serbo-Croatian poet, Petar Preradovich sings that a terrible river of hate flows between the Germans and the Slavs, and that the Slavdom will finally conquer the world, simply because the Slavdom means a rule of a sacred pure spiritual imperialism of the mind and love, without any force.

In one of his recent articles, Professor Milivoye St. Stanoyevich says rightly that the spirit of such a Panslavism has nothing to do with the Pangermanism, for it has never been what Germans pretended to see in it. To quote him: "Panslavism demands the emancipation of all the Slavs and those allied with them. Pangermanism means taking into conquest a series of lands which may prove useful to the expansion of political Germany, but which virtually have nothing German about them, viz., Poland, Bohemia, Istria, etc. Panslavism seeks to advance the normal evolution of the people; Pangermanism attempts to strengthen Great Ger-

and nurtured in what we call
value for the solution of the c
litical, and economic problems.

"These problems of class a
operation and exploitation, of
thority and self-direction need
can bring to their solution.
have some temporary difficulties
almost anarchistic tendencies of
be as great as those arising fro

In one word, the Slavic peopl
They have the *moral greatnes*
And when to that is added *politi*
tion the Slavs will become one
the world.

Even as an emigrant the Slav
people. He does not come to
money, as he could, but to buy
pendent. We must point out th
founded by Slavic emigrants w
dom. That the Slav emigrant
because he knew that the United
provide him with a free home. h

grates, he does this after long, serious thinking, and seeing all avenues almost closed. It is his *ultima ratio*. The Slav does not go to America as a *Dolarica* (the land of almighty Dollars), as the Germans call it in Germany and Austria, but to the "*Free* States of the North America," as the Slav generally calls them.

Back in 1843 the Italian Mazzini wrote, as quoted in the *New Europe*:

"In Austria there is a Slav movement which no one troubles about, but which one day, when united with our work, will wipe Austria off the map of Europe."

To-day the Slavic movement has gone so far that Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Chairman of the Czecho-Slovak National Council at Washington, D. C., predicts an alliance of the Czechs, the Poles, and the Jugo-Slavs against Austria-Hungary and Germany. The bulk of the population for such an alliance would be furnished by Austria. The same Italian thinker who is the author of prophecy of Austria's doom, Giuseppe Mazzini, in his *Politica Internazionale* ("Scritti editti ed ineditti," Milano, 1861), says:

"The Slavic movement comes next to the Italian movement in importance for the future of Europe. If this movement is helped, and hailed as a providential occurrence it will rejuvenate the life of Europe by new impulses and potentialities. . . . But if, on the other hand, it finds only enemies, it will cost Europe twenty years of terrible crises and much bloodshed. . . ."

Nicolo Tomaseo, the well-known author and patriot, who loved sincerely both the Italians and the Slavs, did all in his power to promote friendly feelings and coöperation among them. In regard to the Dalmatian Coast he said very wisely: "I don't believe that Dalmatia could ever be incorporated in Italy. Her destiny bids her to be in the future a free, non-subjugated friend of Italy."

Who are the Slavs? . . . At any rate—they are not bar-

barians! . . .

What is the reason that the Germans and some other people are afraid of the Slavs? "It would be interesting to know what it is men are most afraid of," remarked Raskolnikov in Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. "Taking a new step, uttering a new word is what they are most afraid of. . . ." It is a fact that the Slavic people, in centuries gone by, stemmed the tide of many barbarian hordes, coming out of the depths of Asia, as well as from the so-called civilized West; they have shaken off the chains of the Avars, the Volga-Bulgars, the Petcheneges, the Tartars, the Swedes, the Mongols, the Turks, and they will soon break the chains which the Germans are now forging around their necks.

Let us conclude this study with a sonnet of Jan Kolar (translated in Sir John Bowring's *Cheskian Anthology*, London, 1832), indicating both the Old and New Slavic democratic *Pia Desideria:*

"There came three ministrels in the days of old
To the Avaric savage—in their hands
Their own Slavonic citharas they hold:
'And who are ye!' the haughty Khan demands,
Frowning from his barbaric throne: 'and where—
Say where your warriors—where your sisters be?'
'We are Slavonians, monarch! and come here
From the far borders of the Baltic sea:
We know wars—no arms to us belong—
We cannot swell your ranks—'tis our employ
Alone to sing the dear domestic song.'
'And then they touched their harps in doubtful joy.
'Slaves!' said the tyrant—'these to prison lead,
For they are precious hostages, indeed.' " . . .

If there be more khans or kaisers who would like to call the Slavic peoples *slaves*, the millions of Slavs will answer them at least with the words of Alfieri: *Servi siam, sì, ma servi ogni or frementi* (Slaves we are, yes, but slaves each hour rebelling). . .

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

The London Impressions of a Serbian, Dossithey Obradovich, in 1785

CHEDOMILJ MIJATOVICH, in his *Serbia of the Serbians* (N. Y., Scribner, 1911, pp. 179-191), gives the following:

"Dossithey Obradovich was probably the first cultured Serbian who ever visited London, and undoubtedly he is the first Serbian author who published something about the impressions he received on the English soil. His letter about his sojourn in London throws an interesting light on the life of the higher middle-class people in the great Metropolis towards the end of the eighteenth century. He had had the good fortune to come into contact with very kind and cultured people, whose sympathies and esteem he won, and for whom he had very sincere admiration. His letter gives an unexpected tribute to a well-known and remarkable character in the literary and social circles of London in the eighties of the eighteenth century, Dr. William Fordyce. I do not know if some direct descendant or descendants of William Fordyce still exist in England or in Scotland, but as Obradovich has immortal merit for the creation of the modern Serbian literature, every cultured Serbian would be happy to express to them how we all feel indebted to their ancestor for the patronage he gave to our poor and struggling Dossithey. It is possible that there are direct descendants somewhere of that learned merchant, John Levie, and

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burg about the middl

"My very dear Co
Dover, thank God, in
and which I wished so
and travelling in Fran
to me quite familiar, pr
and could speak and
England not one singl
young, women and chil
not know what they th
women and girls; they ar
ing in the world could y
I had a thousand eyes, a
thousand years, I would
The longer I look the h
you wish to preserve the
on your way, pass them
them, because if you only
look at them, you will not
your way, and you will r
true, there are handsome w
too, but they ...

the English women and girls seem not to care a fig about their own beauty, or that they are not conscious of it! They look at you with such natural, simple and sincere eyes, and at the same time with an open, friendly and sympathetic face, as if they were old friends with you! Now, imagine if you can, what I must have felt when I found myself amongst these charming God's creations, and unable to say a word to them! 'Good and gracious God!' I thought to myself, 'how heavily men must have sinned against Thee that Thou hast condemned them to have so many different languages! That was brought to them by that Tower of Babel, and by their ambition to ascend the heavens before the time was ripe, just as if they had not enough space on earth!' After I had scolded for some time our ancestors, I turned against myself: 'So many people have lived and live to this day without the knowledge of the English language and English books, why could you not have lived without wishing to find out what these people here think, how they live and what is to be found in their books? You wanted to see England? Very well, here you are in England, and do speak now with the people!'

"The human soul has this good point in itself that whenever it is saddened, it quickly looks for some means to console itself. For this reason, probably, I suddenly remembered certain Latin verses which are fine, but of which I do not remember where I have read them, nor who is their author. But on that occasion they gave me much consolation. These are the lines:

'Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,
Hyblaeos latebris nec spoliat favos.
Si fronti caveat, si timeat rubos;
Armat spina rosas, mella tegunt apes.'

"(He who takes care for his forehead and is afraid of the thorny blackberry, cannot enjoy the spring's perfumes, nor

bring out the honey from the caves of Hyblae; roses have thorns for their arms, the honey is defended by the bees.)

"'Oh, wicked want of courage!' I thought. 'If I do not know English I am just come to the right place where I can learn it! Costly things are not bought for a small price!'

"A young Irishman, by profession a Roman Catholic priest, was returning to Ireland from France, where he had been studying, and as he had to pass through London, I went with him. Towards the evening we reached Canterbury, one of the most ancient of towns in England, lying in a most beautiful position on a height. There we had to remain for the night. As we had about two hours free time, we used it to visit the magnificent old Church. From the walls of the old Castle I admired much the beautiful neighbourhood. Full of internal joy and of admiration for the wonderful works of the Creator, we returned to our lodgings when it was already dark.

"I am unable to describe to you what I felt when the next day from some heights I saw for the first time the really terrible grandeur and almost endless extent of the most famous and beautiful town of London. The Irish priest and I had places inside the coach, but starting from Canterbury I gave my place to some one else, and I mounted on the top of the coach, from which place I could better see the country. I was wondering at my good fortune! Evidently my mother brought me to this world in a propitious moment. Where was I now? Who am I? It seemed to me that I was born afresh to a new world. Am I indeed the same man, who, not so many days ago, walked with my neighbour, Nika Pootnik of Banat, travelled on foot along the river Beghey to Syrmia, and from Syrmia walked in 'red brigand's sandals' with Athanasius to Croatia? And now on the roof of a large coach, sitting like a Roman Dictator, and having overcome the cruel Tormentor, Poverty, I am victoriously and triumphantly entering into a more beauti-

ful and more famous town than Rome ever was! I felt so happy, as if all London was my own private property!

"In London my Irish friend introduced me to a teacher of children, who spoke a little French. I arranged with him to give me instruction in English, bedroom, and board for three guineas per month. Of course, I wanted some money for books also. But taking into account all expenses I thought I would have money enough to last me for three months.

"Some people told me that the pronunciation of the English is very difficult, but to understand it is quite easy for any one who knew German and French, and more especially if in addition he knew something of Latin. 'What God gives!' I thought; 'if I learn to understand English I will surely learn how to pronounce it, even if that pronunciation were a Hydra with her seventy heads!'

"But when my teacher proceeded with his first teaching, the hair on my head rose up and my skin began to shiver. But what was to be done! Having once entered into the fray, the only possible course for me was 'forward'! Perseverance and hard work have often succeeded to accomplish hard tasks. This knot could not be cut by a sword, as was the case with the Gordian knot; if Alexander were to come here himself, he would find that his sword could not help him, and that only a patient unknotting the knot was the only method possible. And if I had only one teacher giving me instruction for one hour daily, I could not have made any progress; but it was my great good fortune that in the house I had at any time of the day some one whom I could ask how this word ought to be pronounced and how that one, and often for the one and the same word asking enlightenment from several persons. The old mother of my teacher, his wife, his sister, brother, sister-in-law, and whosoever came from the neighbourhood on a visit to the house, all these were my dear and kind teachers, and heartily I wish

spoke Latin very well, but
pronouncing it correctly, an
hood. He also helped me mu
often invited me to lunch or t
I made the acquaintance of a
Cyprus, and was descended f
nan, which at one time reigned
ance was very advantageous t
don several years already.

"In that way day by day wa
to the end of the third month,
end too. In the last week of
leave of Mr. Lusignan. I told l
enough the pronunciation of th
remains I could learn somewhe
tions to leave for Calais. 'Lo
to me, 'a friend of mine, to wh
occasions, wished me to bring
to dinner, as he would much lik
He is a merchant, dealing in l
same time he is really a learnec
Greek language and books, an
you will not refuse to go to din
you could imagine

first without, and afterwards with, the punch, talking about Greece and her history. It was already dark when I took leave of him, he repeatedly assuring me that to-morrow's acquaintance will be pleasant for me. To my lodging it was far enough, but I knew my way and innumerable lamps gave good light.

"Since London exists on the spot on which it is, I do not think that ever there was a person within its walls who was so lucky as not to have any money, as the case was with me! 'What nonsense you talk!' will probably say to me a stiff-nosed critic. Wait a moment, and let us consider the matter, and you will see that it was no 'nonsense,' but true and intelligible words. If I had my own money to subsist yet another quarter in London, I would probably still have made the acquaintance of the people, of whom I will write a little later, but that acquaintance would have been only accidental and superficial, because having no need of their help I could not have an opportunity of being acquainted with the great kindness of their heart and generosity and nobleness of their soul. I would have continued to remain living and boarding with my teacher, learned a little more, finished my work, and then returned on my journey home. But my soul would have then remained for ever deprived of the sweetest acquaintance which I ever had in my life, and of the precious treasure of honesty, virtue and friendliness of these good and really divine people in England.

"Mr. Lusignan came to my lodging the next morning, about 11 o'clock a.m. 'Shall we go? Are you ready?' he asked. 'I am ready long ago, and only feared that you should go without me!' I answered. He laughed and said: 'We are in good time. It is true we will have to walk a full hour, but still we will arrive there early enough. You know that the English dine generally at 2 o'clock, sometimes even at 3 o'clock!'

"We passed, walking, the Tower of London, walked on

when I saw that none of them say. In short, this was really for me.

"After the dinner they asked that I am leaving England so loved their language? It see straightforward and sincere witl amount almost to a sacrilege. 'I sons,' I answered, 'are these: firs secondly, because there is no o I had right to expect a remitta Mr. Levie, 'then there is no nee gladly give you every day after tl and every day you can take yo with us!' After a few days they immediate neighbourhood.

"As I said a little earlier, jus had not money enough brought people of indescribable kindness kindness consists just therein tha kindness to another man, he gen the more each time he does him a ents love their child the more the the house of

would translate one or two of Æsop's fables from the Greek into English. She also would spend every day in reading Greek books for an hour, as she, just as did her husband, loved that language very much. In such studies we two would spend our time up to the dinner hour, viz., up to 2 o'clock p.m. After the dinner Mr. Levie would give me lessons till the evening, excepting the days on which his business detained him. About a month after such a profitable and agreeable occupation for me, my hosts went to Harwich on a visit to Mrs. Levie's father, as they used to do every year about this time, where they wished to remain for fifteen days. On leaving they recommended me to their shop assistant, a good and well-educated young man. We dined together in the house. After the dinner till the time of the supper he would give me lessons, just as his master did, and indeed he was so kind and so heartily well disposed towards me that he would carry me in his arms if he could. The dinner was always prepared and served as if the master and his wife had been at home. Still both I and Mr. Clarke —the young assistant—were longing to see our dear and kind hosts return home. And just for my sake they asked permission from the old gentleman to return home five days earlier than they were accustomed to do. I do not know that I have ever in my life—except perhaps while I was yet a child—been simply longing for the return of my friends as I did on this occasion.

"A few weeks later Mr. Levie's sister, Mrs. Tellar, and her brother, Mr. Cook, came to stay with their sister for some time. Then every day we had dinners and other entertainments either at the house of my hosts or at the houses of their friends, and excursions to the most interesting parts of the town and neighbourhood, on which excursions I had to accompany them almost always. This made me in a certain measure lose my lessons, but on the other side it was so pleasant and so useful for me inasmuch as I obtained excel-

lent opportunities to acquaint myself with the lovable features of English character, and with their unaffected, simple and hearty manners.

"Besides these guests, Mr. Levie would give every Tuesday a dinner to his learned friends. Every Friday we would be in sufficiently numerous company at dinner with Mr. William Fordyce, a physician and Knight of the Golden Fleece, which dignity he obtained from the King for his distinguished services to the medical science. This most dignified gentleman was a hearty friend to my benefactor, Levie, and, having through him learned to know me, he took me under his kind patronage and instructed his friends to give me for his account all the money of which I might have need for books, clothes, and other minor expenses, during my stay in London. I say again: all this noble generosity of English people and their kindness, worthy to be gratefully remembered for ever, I would not have experienced if I had not been in need!

"It really depended only on me if I chose to remain for the remainder of my life in England. As I was fond of giving lessons, and would have learned their language perfectly, I could live very well here. But every man, from the cradle to the grave, must have one or other dominant wish. Such a wish of mine was that I may publish yet a few pages in my mother's language. I experienced personally how it would have been useful and agreeable for me if in my young days I had to read something good and wise in our own language! How I should feel grateful to that man of my people who would have taken care to do that, and what he had acquired with hard work and loss of time to transmit to my mind and soul without much work on my part and in a short time! This, that I am thinking and feeling of others, other people would eventually think of me! Oh, what a flattering foreboding! What a sweet hope in an immortal life! Good-bye, therefore, not only London

and Paris, but every other place in the world in which I could not accomplish this highest desire of my life!

"Therefore, when the second quarter expired and I felt sure that I could make further progress for myself, I informed my benefactors and friends that I must leave England.

"God only knows how sorry I was to leave these delightful people! I made a vow that in future I shall watch very carefully not to enter into fast friendship with any one, with whom not to be always and till my death together would fill me with sadness. Mr. William Fordyce instructed Mr. Levie to buy for me fine books, and to give me all the money necessary to cover the expenses of travelling from here to Hamburg, and from thence to Leipsic. He gave me also as a souvenir one of his works, written in Latin and entitled '*Fragmenta Chirurgica et Medica*,' in which he described his own experiments and which he published while I was in London. Both he and Mr. Levie inscribed themselves in that book in this manner: 'Dositeo Obradovics, Serbiano, viro linguis variis erudito, sanctissimis moribus morato, Anglis, apud quos sex menses diversatus est, perquam dilecto, Fragmenta haecce, parvulum quidem et amoris sincerissimi et amicitiae pignus, libentissime merito obtulerunt.—Londoni, VIII Kal. Junii MDCCLXXXV.—Gulielmus Fordyce; Joannes Levie.'

"Two young gentlemen, Henry Turnbull and William Valliott, made me also presents of very valuable books. A great commercial sailing ship was preparing to leave for Hamburg. I embarked on it the 27th of May (old style), and we sailed by the river for the sea. At Gravesend, where there is a great harbour, the captain of our ship joined us, coming down the river in a small boat, and as the wind was favourable our ship came out into the open sea. The captain came into the general room where I was sitting and handed me over a somewhat heavy letter, which when I opened

Farewell! Cor
made in Englan
to whom nothing
prosperity and
HENRY TURNBUL

"That was a y
a private secretar
to his friend Mr.
ance. From his l
me according to h
but he dared not d
my 'delicacy,' as he
judge by their own
easy to receive the
courage to do it whil
not resist to do it wh
handsome and delicat
those who rightly jud
times that amount.

"The fourth day w
there for a few days.
London: to Mr. Lusigna
to my most dear frien
and

APPENDIX 2. THE SERBIAN BALLADS

1. The Wife of Hasan Aga

(Taken from: G. R. Noyes & L. Bacon, *Heroic Ballads of Serbia*, Boston, Sherman & French, 1913, pp. 271-5.)

What shows white in the wood? A flock of swans or a bank of snow?
Swans would have flown and snow bank would have melted long ago.
It is not snow, nor a milk-white swan, but Hasan Aga's tent;
Sore wounded was he. His mother and sister to him went;
For very shame his wife came not.[1] When his wounds were healed aright,

[1] "The wife could not even in this case overcome her dread of meeting a man. A girl is praised in folksong as having never seen a male being" (Miklosich). In the Serbian households it was not usual for a wife to enter her husband's presence unless summoned by himself. However, Hasan Aga seemed to have expected that, under present circumstances, his wife would have broken through all conventional etiquette in order to tend him, and to have unjustly regarded her failure to do as denoting a grievous lack of love for him. Mügge rightly points out that this poem has Serbo-Turkish (or better to say Serbo-Mohammedan) milieu. The difficulty of the reader has perhaps been best stated and met by the words of Professor Curčin of Belgrade University. He says: "The difficulty which perplexes the Western European educated reading public when judging the line of conduct in the poem and at the same time the *sine qua non* of the whole of the conflict consists in the relationship existing between married people amongst Orientals, especially the Mohammedans, in the low status and almost slavish submissiveness of the Oriental woman towards her husband. The most important item, the one on which the greatest emphasis should be laid, is the sense of shame itself—quite incomprehensible for us in such a degree—shown by the married woman towards her husband." Mügge thinks that this poem may be called a real tragedy (defining tragedy as an conflict not between good and evil, not between right and wrong, but between right and right) and agrees with Professor Curčin who, therefore, appropriately calls this poem "a drama, the tragic fate of a loving wife and mother, her soul's struggle with the brute force of circumstances."

To the window she ra
from the tower;
But the daughters of I
"Return to us, dear
they;
"It is thy brother, our
The wife of Hasan A
"Ah, brother, from my
shame!"
Naught said the boy;
hand he thrust [1]
For a bill of divorce tl
trust,
And bade her go to her r
she wist,
Forthwith upon the forel
And on their rosy cheeks s
But the little son in the c
Her brother took the lad
That wretched woman fron
steed;
He brought her unto the w
in.

Good is the matron's parentage, men seek her in marriage withal;
But the great Cadi of Imoski desires her most of all.
"So should I not desire it," imploringly she said.
"Brother, I prithee, give me not to any to be wed,
That my heart break not with looking on my children motherless."
But the bey no whit he cared at all because of her distress;
To the great Cadi of Imoski he will give her to be wed.
Still the matron with her brother most miserably she pled,
That he a milk-white letter to the cadi should prepare,
And send it to the cadi: "The matron[1] greets thee fair,
And implores thee: when that thou hast brought the wooers from every side,
And when thou comest to her white house,[2] do thou bring a veil for the bride,
That she see not by the aga's house her children motherless."
When the letter came to the cadi, with pomp and lordliness
He gathered many wooers; ah, nobly did they come!
And splendidly the wooers they brought the fair bride home!
But even they were by the aga's house, forth looked her daughters fair,
And her two sons came before her, and spoke to their mother there:
"Return with us, dear mother, to eat with us again."
When the wife of Hasan Aga heard, she spake to the groomsman then:
"Brother in God, my groomsman, stop the steeds, of gentleness,
By my house, that I may give fair gifts to my children motherless."
They checked the steeds at the house for her;
She gave her children gifts;

[1] "Maiden" in the original!
[2] This phrase was inserted by V. St. Karadzich.

her distress,
And her soul depar

2. T

(From: G. R. Noyes
Boston, Sherma

Once there were three
The three sons of M
The second was Vóyv
was he;
And Skadar on the B
With fifteen score of m
But they could not for
lay,
Much less raise up the w
By the masons in the mo
The vila called from all
fourth year:
"Plague not thyself,
gear!
King, thou canst not fo

Much less raise up the wall thereof, until upon a day
Come news of Stoya and Stoyan,[1] for like names have the twain;
Sister they are and brother. Into the wall amain
Shalt thou wall them. And the fortress shall be stablished in the land."
Vukáshin heard. To Désimir he issued his command:
"Désimir, thou wast ever a faithful knave to me,
And from this hour onward mine own son shalt thou be.
Harness, my son, the horses to the wains in the yard below,
And take six packs of money, and over the white world go,
Do thou seek for Stoya and Stoyan, for like names have the twain;
Brother they are and sister. Buy them or seize them amain.
Thou shalt bring them unto Skadar on the Bóyana[2] straightway,
That the twain in the foundation of the tower we may lay,
To see if the foundation at last will stay or stand,
And finally the fortress be stablished in the land."
Désimir heard, and harnessed the steeds to the wains below,
And with six packs of money o'er the white world did he go.
He sought for Stoya and Stoyan, for like names had the twain;
For three full years he sought them, and aye he sought in vain.
To Skadar on the Bóyana at last he took the track;
To the king he gave the horses and the wains and money back.
"Here, king, are thy wains and horses, and thy money-bags again,

[1] *Stoyan* is a common Serbian name, of which *Stoya* (or *Stóyana*) is the feminine diminutive. But *stoyan* is also an adjective meaning stable, enduring; and *stoya* a noun meaning a standing, a position; both are from the same root as *stóyati*, to stand.

[2] Boyana is the name of the river washing the wall of Skadar.

Since I found not Stoya and Stoyan—for like names have
the twain."
Vukáshin heard it, and summoned Rado the builder in,
And Rado bade three hundred men their labor to begin.
What the king built, wrecked the vila; no foundation could
he lay,
Much less raise up the wall thereof. To the king then did
he say:
"Plague not thyself, Vukáshin, and squander not thy gold;
Thou canst not rear a single pier, much less the wall of the
hold,
A faithful wife hath each of you, ye kingly brothers born:
Whose wife with the masons' dinner comes to Bóyana tomorn,
Into the tower's foundation wall her then, that it may stand;
And finally the fortress shalt thou stablish in the land."
When King Vukáshin heard it, he called his brethren there:
"Hear ye what from the mountain the vila doth declare!
In no way get we vantage by squandering the gold;
She will not let rear a single pier, much less the wall of the
hold.
She saith that we have faithful wives, all we three brothers
born:
Whose wife with masons' dinner comes to Bóyana tomorn,
Into the tower's foundation we must build her, that it stand;
And finally the fortress shall we stablish in the land.
Before God shall we not pledge it, not to tell our wives at
home,
And leave to chance whose wife tomorn to Bóyana shall
come?"
While the three lords were pledging, upon them came the
might,
And straightway they departed unto their houses white.
They spent the lordly evening, and went each man to bed;
And—a marvel—Vukáshin brake the pledge, and told the
wife he wed:

"Hearest thou, my dear love now, that troth to me last sworn!
Go not thou to the Bóyana with the masons' dinner tomorn.
Thou wilt perish; they will wall thee into the wall of the tower."
Úglyesha brake it also, and told his wife in that hour:
"Be not deceived, my darling wife, that troth to me last sworn!
Go not with the masons' dinner unto Bóyana tomorn.
Girl, thou wilt die; they will wall thee into the wall of the tower."
But Goyko did not break the pledge, nor tell his wife in that hour.
On the fair morrow early, when first the daybreak shone,
The children of Marnyáva to the Bóyana were gone.
Time came the dinner to carry, and the turn of the queen to bear;
She went to the wife of Úglyesha, and spake unto her there:
"Hear, and good health to thee, sister! My head beginneth to ache;
I cannot conquer it. Prithee the meal to the masons take."
"Good health to thee, queen," she answered, "my sister that is so dear!
I cannot master this aching arm. Speak thou to our sister here."
She went to the youngest sister, and unto her said she:
"O thou young wife of Goyko, do thou harken now to me!
It is this—good health to thee, sister!—my head beginneth to ache;
I cannot conquer the pain. Do thou the meal to the masons take."
Goyko's young wife gave answer: "I would do it gladly, O queen;
But all unbathed is my little child, and the linen not washed clean."

told;
And down upon the
The slender girl loo
Until she was come
song:
"What aileth thee
tears have ro
He answered: "F
gold,
And to-day it fell into
It is a trouble of the s
She understood not
spake:
"Pray for thine health;
Then was he grievously
He could not any longe
But the two sons of M
small,
And led her to the stron
They made to Rado the
She laughs at his three
jest.
They brought her and t

With stone and wood they walled her to the knees east and west,
And the slender girl laughs lightly, deeming haply they jest.
They built unto her girdle with the heavy wood and stone;
She saw what was to come on her; with a very bitter groan,
And writhing like a serpent, she prayed her brethren there:
"And you trust in God, wall me not up, so tender and so fair."
So prayed she. They looked not on her; no way her prayer did aid.
But she overcame disgrace and shame, and to her lord she said:
"Let me not now, my dearest lord, be walled up in the hold,
But send unto my mother, that hath a treasure of gold,
And purchase thou a slave girl with her money in that hour,
And wall the slave girl into the foundations of the tower."
So spake the slender girl in vain; the prayer could not aid.
When she found no help, to Rado, the master builder, she prayed:
"For my bosom, builder Rado, leave a space at my behest,
That Yovo when he cometh may be suckled at my breast."
Rado, the master builder, was well-pleased with her prayer,
And for her milk-white bosom he left a window there,
With the white bosom outward. He did her whole behest,
That Yovo might be suckled when he came unto her breast.
And again she called on Rado, the builder, in this wise:
"I prithee, brother Rado, leave a window for mine eyes,
That I may look to the white house, and easily may see
When they bring Yovo hither, or bear him back from me."
Rado, the master builder, was well pleased with her prayer;
That she might look to the milk-white house he left a window there,
And see the child when they brought him or bore him back again.

All his soldi
And brought
Like bees ar
They are cro
Of both the
The Turks, as
O my son!—a
That Turks ho
From Marmor
From the Mapl
From the vault
From Fort Zvec
From Chechan t
All that land is
There are, my so
Of Spahis alone
Of Spahis who h
Knights who eat
Who ride horses t
Who burden thems
Who carry, indeed,
But there are yet o
The fiery Janissari
They who hold up t
Quite a full hundre
It is said there is sti
Men of Tooka, they
Who are also

And he laughs in his sleeve at the viziers.
The Sultan's mighty army he values
No more than the black ants on the sandhills!
Oh, a strong man, they say, is Vlah-Ali!
Without working mischief he could not pass,
Not even with Murat, to Kosovo.

"Oh, my son! he assaulted our castle;
Going round by the left to Banyska,
He burned down our fort, little Banyska,
Tore up and scatter'd far its foundations;
Thy faithful servants drove to the four winds;
Thy mother trampled under his charger,
And thy wife he has carried off with him,
Thy faithful wife carried to Kosovo;
In his green tent he keeps her to serve him.

"Oh, my son! I wail here amid ruins,
And thou sittest feasting in Krushevatz!
Curs'd be the red wine that thou drinkest!"

When Strahinya had read through the missive,
Stern and wrathful look'd he in his sadness;
On his shoulders drooped down his moustachios,
And tears gleam'd in his eyes, but they fell not;
Fierce wrath check'd the wild sorrow within him.

Flamed up sudden fiery Yoog Bogdan;
"Oh, my son-in-law, may God be with thee!
Why hast thou this morn waken'd so early?
Is it lack of slumber that saddens thee?
Where is all thy accustom'd good-humour?—
My son-in-law, with whom art thou angry?—
With jests have the nine brothers Yoogovich,
My nine sons, perhaps anger'd and pain'd thee?—
Have their ladies been lacking in service?—
Or, perchance, in my house something fails thee?—
Say, son-in-law, what is it? How is it?"

Up started Strahinya and answered him:
"Be at peace, oh, my father, Yoog Bogdan!—
My brothers, too, are my wife's nine brethren;
With them and with their wives I live kindly;

How his
His moth
His true v
And his fa
"But, my fa
It's not onl
Thy daughi
Be she my
To thee and
To thee as t
Would'st thou
It were best
I beseech thee
Give me now t
Let my brothe
That I seek th
Who has carrie
Thou need'st n
Thou need'st ha
I will put them
I will bind roun
Green garments
And wide sack-lil
I will gird them
I will summon th
How to saddle and
And cover them al
Like Janissa

"Whoever of the soldiers of Murat
May desire to stop or to question us,
To that man I alone will give answer.
No fear do I feel of their questioning!
The Turkish I can speak, and the Manu,
Of Arabian I also know something;
The Albanian tongue does not affright me.
Trust me, I will lead safely thy children
Through the Turkish army on Kosovo;
Through the whole Turkish army I'll lead them
Till I find out the mighty Vlah-Ali—
Vlah-Ali! the vile robber who bore off
My true wife, and who burnt down my castle!
Oh, Yoog, let my nine brothers go with me!
Alone, little, indeed, are my chances;
But if they may go with me I fear not,
For if wounded I shall not be captured."

Like a fire flamed up fiercely Yoog Bogdan:
"Oh, son-in-law, Banovich Strahinya,
To-day it is quite clear thou art foolish!
Oh! to ask me to lend thee my nine sons,
To lead forth my children to Kosovo,
That their throats may be cut by the Moslim!

"Now I pray thee, my son, speak no folly!—
My nine sons shall not go to Kosovo,
Though I see nevermore my lost daughter.
Besides, Ban, all this grieving is foolish.
From the Turks would'st thou take back a woman?
So defiled, curs'd by God, could'st thou love her?

To her now, too, the Turk will be dearer.
Let her be. May the evil one take her!
Another wife will I find thee, a fairer;
And thou shalt remain here with me always.
I am always thy friend—I, Yoog Bogdan—
But my nine sons go not to Kosovo."

Ban Strahinya blazed up like a live flame,
Mad at once with great anger and sorrow.
Then disdaining to call for the servants,
He descended himself to the stables,

But young M
At the banqu
Each one of
"We love thee,
We love thee,
But to-day, in
Who dares to
Who dares to
The Ban saw h
But he rode stil
As Strahinya E
He glanced oft
Glanced back t
Who could tell h
Would they vent
When he saw, in
No friend ready
He sat silent awh
He remembered h
Left behind in the
That dog dearer st
Sudden shouted he
And the dog heard
Rushed up gladly a
His gold collar rung
The dog's joy gave
The Ban rode on wi
He rode straight on

And rode straight through the camps without stopping.
Ban Strahinya rode over Kosovo—
He rode westward, and southward, and eastward,
Rode northward, searching still for Vlah-Ali,
But Vlah-Ali the mighty he saw not.
Then he turned to the river Sitnitza,
And a wonderful sight did he see there!
On the bank of the streamlet Sitnitza
A widely spreading green tent was standing.
On the tent's summit gleam'd a gold apple;
Before the tent a war steed stood pawing,
By a tall spear struck deep in the black earth.
The horse stood there still stamping and pawing,
With his hard hoofs sharp striking the black earth,
Though a sack full of oats hung before him.
When Strahinya Ban rode up and saw this,
He said, "'Tis the green tent of Vlah-Ali!"
And he spurred his steed sooner to reach it.
Arrived there he laid hand on his war spear
And lifted up bold with it the curtains
To see whom the great tent held within it.
But not there was the mighty Vlah-Ali.
Strahinya only saw an old Dervish
Whose white beard reached down to his girdle.
In the tent there was no one besides him—
Well for him: the false Turk! the wine-drinker!
Drinking wine by himself out of full bowls!
So sitting and drinking by himself there
The Dervish was flushed red to the eyebrows.
Ban Strahinya gazed on him with wonder,
Then greeted him calm, Turk-like, with "Selam!"

The wine-drunken old Dervish looked at him,
Looked sharply, and then answered him boldly:
"Hail to thee, O Banovich Strahinya!
Lord of Little Banyska, near Kosovo!"

Then Strahinya was startled; fear seized him;
But still he spoke out bold to the Dervish;
In the Turkish tongue Strahinya answered:
"Shame, O Dervish! thou son of a cursed mother!
Why drinkest thou here wine like a drunkard?
Wherefore, wine-besotten, speak'st thou hard words?

Why insult a Turk by calling him Giaour?
Who is he by whose name thou hast call'd me?
What know I of Banovich Strahinya?
To our Tzar am I loyal and faithful—
The Tzar's charges have broken their halters
And run wildly now through the encampments,
All our nobles ride hither and thither,
And are trying their utmost to catch them.
Should I speak to the Tzar or his Viziers
Of thy strange words, what woe would befall thee!"

Long and loud laughed the drunken old Dervish:
"O Strahinya! valiant Ban Strahinya!—
Know, O Ban (may no evil come near thee!)
If I were on the summit of Golesh,
And thence saw thee 'mid the Sultan's soldiers,
I should know thee at once and thy grey horse!—
Should know thee and thy greyhound Karaman,—
Him whom thou lov'st still more than thy charger.
Strahinya! Lord of Little Banyska!
I knew thee Ban, at once, by thy forehead;
Knew thee, too, by thy two eyes beneath it;
I knew thee, Ban. by thy dark moustachios.
Forgettest thou (all trouble flee from thee!)
That I was, years agone now, thy prisoner?
On Suhara thy pandours had caught me,
And carried to thy castle a captive;
Thou didst cast me, then, into a dungeon,
And didst keep me there during nine long years;
But at last, the tenth year, thou hadst pity,
Thou didst call to thee then Rad, thy jailer,
And bade him bring me into the courtyard.
O, Strahinya Ban! Hast thou forgotten
The questions that thou didst put to me?—
'My captive! O, thou snake amongst the Turks!
Dost thou wish then to die in thy dungeon?
Could'st thou not find thee somewhere a ransom?'
To thy questions I answered thee truly,
That I could, perchance, find me a ransom
If I could but go home to my own place,
Because there I had lands and some treasures;
I could sell them and bring thee the ransom;

But for that it were need thou could'st trust me,—
That thou trustest my word and my promise,
I would swear by my life and the true God
To come back or to send thee the ransom.
Thou hadst faith in my oath, Ban Strahinya!
Thou lett'st me go back free to my country;
But when I arrived there, O Banovich,
Nothing found I but black desolation!
The pestilence had been there before me,
And not one soul remained of my household.
Through the walls of my desolate dwelling
The green grasses and wild weeds were growing;
All my lands by the Turks had been taken
And giv'n away to their daughters as dowry;
They believed that no owner was living,
Or why went thus the buildings to ruin?—

Of what had been mine nothing was left me!
How, therefore, could I seek thee a ransom?
After thinking, and planning, and dreaming,
I borrowed me post horses for Yedren,
And to Yedren * rode I, to the Sultan.
The Vizier saw me and said to the Sultan
I look'd likely enough for a soldier,
And strong soldiers were needed for battle.
So good clothes and good weapons were given me,
And a tent to hold me and my weapons;
In a book my name wrote down the Vizier
As one sworn to serve lifelong the Sultan.
Now to-day, Ban Strahinya! thou comest
To say to me, 'Now give me thy ransom!'
But I tell thee I have not one penny!—
'Tis a pity, O Ban, that thou camest
To Kosovo, amidst this great army,
To lose thy life and for it gain nothing."

Strahinya Ban knew then the old Dervish,
And quickly from his war steed dismounted,
To embrace him, and speak to him friendly:
"Henceforth thou art my brother in God's name!
I forgave thee, O Dervish, thy ransom,

* Adrianople.

I come not now to ask for one penny;
I am looking for mighty Vlah-Ali,
Who has pillaged and burnt down my castle,
And my wife carried off as his captive.
Tell me, O Dervish, where shall I find him?
Where shall I find the robber, Vlah-Ali?
I have called thee in God's name my brother,
Do not suffer the Turks to surround me;
Do not tell them I am amongst them."

Then the old Dervish swore by the true God,
"I give thee now—O falcon Strahinya!—
I give thee my faith, steadfast as granite,
That if thou should'st kill half the Tzar's soldiers
I should not and I would not betray thee;
The bread thou hast given me is sacred.
Thou didst keep me nine full years a captive,
But red wine didst thou give me and white bread;
Thou hast brought me oft forth to the sunshine;
To thee, then, I shall never be traitor.
It is true that I brought thee no ransom,
That I kept not my word; but how could I?
I found nothing was left me but bare earth!
But thou hast now no reason to fear me.
As for him whom thou seekest, Vlah-Ali,
His tent he has pitched high on the mountain,
His white tent stands high up on Mount Golesh.
But, Strahinya! I pray thee now, hear me!
Mount quickly and ride away from Kosovo,
If thou stay'st here thy life is worth nothing;
Thy trust in thy true heart will not save thee,
Neither will thy strong hand nor swift sabre;
Still less, O Ban! will thy poison'd war spear.
And if thou could'st come near to Vlah-Ali,
What good, Ban Strahinya, would it do thee?
Not thy sharp sword nor swift steed will save thee!
He will seize thee alive in his strong arms,
He will break into pieces thy weapons!
He will pluck thee thy two eyes out living!"

But aloud laughed Ban Strahinya gaily:
"My brother in God, O my old Dervish!

Against one man thou need'st not to warn me,
But don't to the whole army betray me."

Then answered him again the old Dervish:
"But hear me, O Banovich Strahinya!
My faith to thee as firm is as granite
And should'st thou spur on thy swift war steed
And cut down even half the Tzar's army,
I would never, I swear it! betray thee!
Would not say to the Turks 'tis Strahinya!"

Yet a little while the two held converse;
But, with the first glow of morn, Strahinya
Mounted quick and spoke thus from his saddle:
"My brother in God! hear me, old Dervish!
Thou lead'st thy steed to drink in Sitnitza,—
Each morn and each even dost thou lead him,—
Tell me where are the fords of the river,
That I ride not my horse in deep waters."

Then the old Dervish answer'd him truly:
"*Ban Strahinya, thou proud Serbian falcon!*
With thy stout heart and with thy strong war horse,
Ev'rywhere shalt thou find a safe passage." *

Strahinya cross'd the river Sitnitza,
And rode slow to the foot of Mount Golesh;
He was still at the base of the mountain,
When the sun shone out over Kosovo
On the soldiers and camps of the Sultan.

But what did He at this hour, Vlah-Ali?—
Truly the Turk had an evil custom!
For he liked most to sleep at the sunrise:
Never closed he his eyes till the sun rose.
Very dear to him was she—his new slave;
Dear to him was the wife of Strahinya!
With his head on her white shoulder resting,

* These three *italicized* lines are considered to be the finest composed by any Serbian bard. In Serbian they sound as follows:

"Strahin—Bane, ti sokole Srpski!
Tvome Dyogu i tvome junashtvu
Svud su brodi, dyegody dodyesh vodi!"

She held him, looking straight through the tent-door,
Looking down to the field of Kosovo;
She looked down on the horses and soldiers,
Glancing carelessly o'er the great army.

But what sees she now? Why does she tremble?
One lonely knight rides slow up Mount Golesh!
One man riding alone amid thousands!

When she saw him, she touched with her white hand
The right cheek of the sleeper, to wake him.
"Wake, my Lord! Wake up, mighty Vlah-Ali!
Rise up quick, for thy head is in danger!
Gird on thee thy right sword! Take thy war spear!
For he comes now! He comes! Ban Strahinya!
Thy head he will cut off, and—woe to me!
He will put to me living the eyes out."

Vlah-Ali leapt up quick, then laugh'd loudly:
"My darling! O sweet wife of Strahinya,
It is wonderful how much thou fear'st him!
I think e'en in the city of Yedren,
When I take thee there, still wilt thou see him!
In visions he will follow and fright thee.—
Yonder rider is not Ban Strahinya!
It is but one of the Sultan's soldiers.
He must bring me some message from Murat,
From Tzar Murat or Mehemed Vizier."

Still persisted the wife of Strahinya;
"O my Lord! O thou mighty Vlah-Ali!
See'st thou not then (does thy eyesight fail thee?)
He who comes brings no message from Murat!
My husband it is! the Ban Strahinya:—
I knew him all at once by his forehead;
I knew under his forehead his dark eyes;
I knew them, also, his dark moustachios;
Knew his horse and his greyhound, Karaman.—
Take care, my Lord! Thy head is in danger."

Hearing this, the snake, mighty Vlah-Ali,
To his feet leapt up lightly and quickly;
He girded on a long silken girdle

And placed safely within it sharp daggers.
His bright sabre he belted on swiftly,
Keeping both his eyes fixed on his black steed.

Rode slowly up to him Ban Strahinya,
But the Ban spoke not one word of greeting;
To the Turk said he sharply and roughly:
"Thou poltroon! Even false to thy own Tzar!
Whose cattle and whose flocks hast thou stolen?
Whose castle hast thou ransacked and pillaged?
Whose wife sits at thy feet now to serve thee?
Come, coward! With thy sword shalt thou answer."
Then the Turk sprang aloft as if snake-stung,
With one stride he laid hand on his black steed,
With one bound he sat firm in his saddle,
And gather'd the silk bridles together.
But for this did not wait Ban Strahinya!
He spurr'd sudden his stout horse against him
And cast his war spear swiftly and surely,
Mad with vengeance attack'd he Vlah-Ali!
The mighty Vlah, quick stretching his long arm,
Caught and broke the Ban's spear ere it struck him;
Then he spoke to him laughing and taunting:
"O Strahinya! 'tis thou art the poltroon!
Say of what and of whom art thou thinking?
Here are none of thy Shumadia's women,
To be frightened away with thy shouting!
Here is only the mighty Vlah-Ali!
He who fears neither the Sultan nor Vizier!
As for the myriad soldiers of Murat
To me they seem but ants in the green grass!"

Speaking thus he flung swiftly his stout spear:—
Little failed it to strike Ban Strahinya!—
But the just God was with Ban Strahinya! —
His brave horse was well trained for the battle;
As the spear flew the charger knelt quickly,
The spear whizz'd o'er the head of his rider;
It struck hard on a rock, and was shattered;
It was shatter'd and fell in three pieces.

The spears lost, the fierce fighters took maces,
And so hard hit Strahinya Vlah-Ali

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But it was her
Well the Turk
Guards his arm
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Both the fighters
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Two dragons wre
Fighting there on
With each other t
From the

"O my wife! May God curse thee and kill thee!
Why standest thou still to regard us?
Take rather a sharp piece of my sabre,
And strike either me or Vlah-Ali!
Strike whom e'er thou wilt, but strike swiftly!"
But the Turk, hearing this, spoke out quickly:
"My darling! Oh, thou wife of Strahinya!
Do not strike me, but strike Ban Strahinya.
No more dear can'st thou ever be to him,
He will blame thee for ever and ever!
Blame thee morning, and mid-day and evening,
Because thou hast been with me and served me!
But to me thou shalt always be dearest!
To the white city, Yedren, I'll take thee;
Thirty slaves shalt thou have there to serve thee,
To carry thy long train and thy wide sleeves.
With honey and sugar I will feed thee,
And cover thee with ducats of pure gold;
From thy head to thy feet with gold ducats;
Only strike now at once Ban Strahinya!"
('Tis easy to cheat women with fair words!)
Then the wife of the Ban sprang up lightly;
She sought out a sharp piece of his sabre,
And she wrapped it well round in her worked veil,
For she feared it might cut her white fingers.
Swift she sprang round the still struggling fighters:
She cared well for the head of Vlah-Ali,
But she struck sharp at her Lord, Strahinya!
She struck him on his helmet and gold crest;
The gold crest and white helmet she cut through;
She slashed slightly the head of Strahinya;
The red blood ran o'er forehead and eyelids;
It drizzled in and darkened his two eyes.—
Then fear came over the Ban Strahinya!—
He saw he had been reckless and foolish,
But suddenly a good thought came to him,
And he called on his greyhound, Karaman,
On Karaman, well-trained for all hunting,
The Ban called him—twice loudly he called him;
Then the true hound sprung swift to his master,
Swifter still on the wife of Strahinya.
He rushed at her and held her quite firmly.

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One was Paul
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Many a splendi
And at last a k
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When the youthf
Jealousy swell'd
And she call'd,
"Sister mine! tho
Dost thou know s
Which may bring
Radool's wife her
"In the name of
Of such cursed we
Never would I tell
For my brothers lo
To their love full n

When Paul's youthf
To the steed she ha
Gave the steed a mo
To her husband, wh
"Evil is the love tho
And thy gifts are wo
She has

And the brother doubted not his sister.
Which when Paul's young wife perceived, at even
To the garden secretly she hasten'd,
Wrung the neck of Paul's grey noble falcon,—
To her husband sped she then and told him:
"Evil is the love thou bear'st thy sister,
And thy gifts to her are worse than wasted;
Lo! she has destroy'd thy favorite falcon."

Paul inquired of Yelitza, his sister,
"Tell me why, and so may God reward thee!"

But his sister swore both high and loudly:
" 'Twas not I, upon my life, my brother;
On my life, and thine, I did not do it!"
And the brother still believed his sister.
When the youthful bride of Paul discover'd
This, she slunk at evening,—evening's meal-time,
Stole the golden knife, and with it murder'd,
Murder'd her poor infant in the cradle!
And when morning's dawning brought the morning,
She aroused her husband by her screaming
Shrieking woe; she tore her cheeks, exclaiming:
"Evil is the love thou bear'st thy sister,
And thy gifts to her are worse than wasted;
She has stabb'd our infant in the cradle!
Will thine incredulity now doubt me?
Lo! the knife is in thy sister's girdle."

Up sprang Paul, like one possess'd by madness;
To the upper floor he hastened wildly;
There his sister on her mats was sleeping,
And the golden knife beneath her pillow.
Swift he seized the golden knife,—and drew it—
Drew it, panting, from its silver scabbard;—
It was damp with blood—'twas red and gory!
When the noble Paul saw this, he seized her,—
Seized her by her own white hand and cursed her:
"Let the curse of God be on thee, sister!
Thou didst murder, too, my favorite courser;
Thou didst murder, too, my noble falcon;
But thou should'st have spared the helpless baby."

Higher yet his sister swore, and louder—
"'Twas not I, upon my life, my brother;
On my life and on thy life, I swear it!
But if thou wilt disregard my swearing,
Take me to the open fields—the desert,
Bind thy sister to the tails of horses;
Let four horses tear my limbs asunder."
But the brother trusted not his sister:
Furiously he seized her white hand—bore her
To the distant fields—the open desert:
To the tails of four fierce steeds he bound her,
And he drove them forth across the desert;—
But, where'er a drop of blood fell from her,
There a flower sprung up,—a fragrant flow'ret;
Where her body fell when dead and mangled,
There a church arose from out the desert!
Little time was spent, ere fatal sickness
Fell upon Paul's youthful wife;—the sickness
Nine long years lay on her,—heavy sickness!
'Midst her bones the matted dog-grass sprouted,
And amidst it nestled angry serpents,
Which, though hidden, drank her eyelight's brightness.
Then she mourn'd her misery—mourn'd despairing;
Thus she spoke unto her lord and husband:
"O convey me, Paul, my lord and husband!
To thy sister's church convey me swiftly;
For that church, perchance, may heal and save me."

So, when Paul had heard his wife's petition,
To his sister's church he swiftly bore her.
Hardly had they reach'd the church portal,
When a most mysterious voice address'd them:
"Come not here, young woman! come not hither!
For this church can neither heal nor save thee."
Bitter was her anguish when she heard it;
And her lord the woman thus entreated:
"In the name of God! my lord! my husband!
Never, never bear me out to our dwelling.
Bind me to the wild steeds' tails, and drive them;
Drive them in the immeasurable desert;
Let them tear my wretched limbs asunder."
Paul then listened to his wife's entreaties:

To the tails of four wild steeds he bound her;
Drove them forth across the mighty desert.
Wheresoe'er a drop of blood fell from her,
There sprang up the rankest thorns and nettles.
Where her body fell, when dead, the waters
Rush'd and formed, a lake both still and stagnant.
O'er the lake there swam a small black courser:
By his side a golden cradle floated:
On the cradle sat a young grey falcon:
In the cradle, slumbering, lay an infant:
On its throat the white hand of its mother:
And that hand a golden knife was holding."

5. *The Emperor Diocletian and John the Baptist*

(Translated by Isabel F. Hapgood)

Two foster brothers were drinking wine,
On a sunny slope by the salt seaside,
One was the Emperor Diocletian,
The other, John the Baptist.
Then up spake John the Baptist
As they did drink the wine:
"Foster brother, come now, let us play.
Use thou thy crown; but I will take an apple."
Then up they jumped, began to play,
And St. John flung his apple.
Down in the depths of the sea it fell
And his warm tears trickled down.
But the emperor held his speech to him:
"Now weep not, dear my brother,
Only carry thou not my crown away
And I will fetch thy people."
Then did John swear to him by God
That he would not steal the crown.
The emperor swam out into the sea,
But John flew up to heaven,
Presented himself before the Lord,
And held this speech to him:
"Eternal God, and All-Holy Father!
May I swear falsely by thee?

But Diocletian, t
"Now, fear thou
Only carry thou r
And I will fetch
Then did John sw
Thrice did he swe
That he would not
The emperor threw
Beside them left th
And plunged into t
St. John froze over
With a twelve-fold
Seized the golden c
And the bird of ill
The emperor, at the
Raced up, as for a v
Brake three of the ic
Then back turned he
A little stone of three
And brake the twelve
Then unfolded he his
Set out in pursuit of
Caught up with him a
Seized him up with hi
And what he grasped,
In tears came John be
The bright sun brough
And John complained

APPENDIX 3. THE SLAVIC NATIONAL HYMNS

1. Polish National Hymn

By Alojzy Felinski (1771-1820). Translated by Rev. J. P. Wachowski

God, who on Poland didst through ages shower
The choicest favors of prowess and glory;
Thou, who didst shield her with Thy heavenly power
From threatening dangers and impending worry;
O Lord in heaven hear our supplication:
Restore to freedom our unhappy nation!

Thou, who didst aid us in our combats later,
When we were struggling for our freedom vainly,
Who didst shed luster on our deeds, still greater
Proving our valor to the world most plainly.
O Lord, etc.

Restore our country to its pristine splendor,
Make our soil fertile, and our wasted meadows;
Peace and good fortune to our faint hearts render,
O stay Thine anger which our land o'ershadows!
O Lord, etc.

It is but lately since our freedom vanished
And lo, already streams of blood are flowing,
How wretched are they from whose hearts is banished
All hope of freedom's blessings ever knowing!
O Lord, etc.

O God of justice by whose mighty power
Thrones of proud rulers crumble, when convicted,
Make tyrants tremble and before Thee cower.
Enkindle new hope in our hearts afflicted!
O Lord, etc.

Through five hundred years of durance
We have knelt before Thy face,
All our kin, O God! deliver,
Thus entreats the Serbian race.

4. Hymn of Free Russia *

(By Constantine Balmont)

Hail Russia, hail forever,
Our land of Liberty!
Life free and trammelled never,
Great land, is fated thee!

A nation, mighty glorious,
An ocean free of shore—
Fame to thy sons victorious,
Who shrouds of darkness tore.

Hail Russia, hail forever,
Our land of Liberty!
Life free and trammelled never,
Great land, is fated thee!

O woods, fields, rivers flowing,
And mighty seas that roll!
With joy and freedom glowing
The dawn burns bright for all!

Hail Russia, hail forever,
Our land of Liberty!
Life free and trammelled never,
Great land, is fated thee!

* See A. T. Grechaninov's *The Hymn of Free Russia* ("Gimn svobodnoi Rossii"), the first musical manifestation of the Russian revolution. English version by Vera and Kurt Schindler, N. Y., Schirmer, 1917, p. 6.

NOTES TO VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER XVII

'erun is apparently the Sanskrit Parjanya or Parganye ("the ne creator"), and the old Prussian Perkuno, a god of storm and er. In Vedas Parjanya is the brother of Aditi ("the boundless"), · of Soma (the moon, and the dew), and husband of Perkuna s the same as Perun; they hold that men would be reborn in :r world much like this, but are said to have had no belief in any ·r future retribution. The chief of the Russian pagan idols, Perun hunder) was scourged at Kiev and thrown into the river when the ın Slavs have been converted to Christianity by Greek missionaries th century.

'here is a Serbo-Croatian village Perun near Spalato (Dalmatia) small number of persons in Montenegro bear the name (one of ıain characters in King Nicholas' drama *The Empress of the ns* is a warrior called Perun).

'ila belongs to the family of the nymphs and is even honored with ithet, "the cloud-gatherer." She is as beautiful as the Peri, though more wicked and malicious at times. V. S. Karadzich in his *ın Dictionary* (Vienna, 1818) describes Vila as follows: "A sort mph. The vilas live in great wooded mountains and in craggy around lakes and rivers. A vila is always young and beautiful, d in a thin white garment, and with long hair flowing over her ınd breast. The vilas will harm no one so long as no one injures as for instance by intruding on their dances or feasts; but when ne injures them then they will punish him in various ways, as by ng him in the hand or foot, or in both hands or both feet, or in art, in which case he at once dies." V. M. Petrovich in his above work says: "The Serbian bards or troubadours from the early enth century to our day have ever glorified and sung of the Vile, bing them as very beautiful and eternally young, robed in the t and finest gauze, with shimmery golden hair flowing down over white bosoms. Vile were said to have very sweet voices, and some- to be armed with bows and arrows. Their melodious songs were heard on the borders of the lakes or in the meadows hidden deep forests, or on high mountain-peaks."

t. George is another type of Warrior Saint. Of this steel-clad ır, lance in hand, mounted on his great charger, the Slavic people a useful auxiliary in their laborious life. They have given St. e the care of the village pasture. So for instance, in the spring ch year, on the 23rd of April according to the Greek Orthodox

Church, which is St. George's Day, the muzhiks of all Russia lead int the fields their herds of cows, their horses, their sheep, exhausted b their long winter's stay in the "byre." Early in the morning of thi day the muzhiks and their womenfolk make the rounds of the sow fields, begging St. George "to rise early in the morning, to open the so and to sprinkle dew on the clover and grass." Then they take out thei flocks and herds, which they drive with branches of willow blessed i the church, and pray to the "kindly George to guard their herds in th fields and the woods from the greedy wolves, the cruel bears and ever ill beast." St. George is the house-patron of many Serbs belonging t the Greek Eastern Orthodox Church. (St. George is the house-patron o the writer of these lines).

5. See: *Anitchkov:* (1) Old Russian Cults (in "Transaction of th Third Intern. Congress of Religion," Oxford, 1910, vol. II); (2) Sprin Songs and Customs, Petrograd, 1904-5; *A. Brückner,* Slavische Re ligion (in "Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart," Tübingen, V 1913); *J. Curtin,* Myths and folk-tales of the Russians, Western Slav and Magyars, Boston, 1890, XXV+555; *Dragomanov, M.,* Slavic Folk Tales about the Sacrifice of One's Own Children (J. Anthrop. Institute XXI, 1892, 456-69); *I. J. Hanush,* Die Wissenschaft des slawische Mythos, Berlin, 1890; *F. S. Kraus:* (1) South-Slavic moon-myths (Pop Science Mo., March, 1889, 615-8); (2) Sitte und Brauch bei de Südslawen, Wien, 1885; (3) Haarschurgodschaft bei den Südslawe (Inter. Arch. f. Ethnologie, VII, 1894, 161-98); (4) Serbische Zaube und Brauch Kinder (Am Ur-Quell, III, 1892, 160-1, 276-9); (5 Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslawen, Münster, 1890, XV +176; *A. Lefévre,* La Mythologie des Slaves et des Finnois (Rev. d l'École d' Anthrop., VII, 1897); *L. P. M. Léger:* (1) Esquise sommair de la mythologie Slave (in his "Nouvelle Études Slave," 2E series Paris, Leroux, 1886); (2) La mythologie slave, Paris, 1901; *J. Máchal* Outline of Slavic Mythology, Prague, 1891; *J. A. MacCulloch,* Slavi (in "The Mythology of All Races," Boston, vol. III, 1915); *V. Mikhai lovsky,* Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia (J. Anthr. Inst. XXIV, 1894-5, 62-110); *Fr. Mikloshich,* Die Blutrache bei den Slaven (Denksch. d. K. K. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl., XXXVI, 1887) *F. Scherer,* Bilder aus dem serbischen Volks- und Familienleben, Neusat Jocich, 1882; *Streshewskij,* Untersuchungen über die Gottesdienst de alten Slaven (Arch. f. wiss. Kunde von Russland, v. 80, 1850, p. 20).

6. Religiously the Slavs are divided as follows: *Czechs*—Roman Cath olics, 95%, Protestant (Calvinistic), 5%; *Slovaks*—Roman Catholics 60%, Eastern Orthodox, 10%, Uniat, 5%, Lutheran, 20%, Calvinistic 5%; *Lusatian Serbs*—Roman Catholic, 80%, Protestant, 20%; *Poles*— Roman Catholic, 98%, Old Catholic, 2%; *Slovenes*—Roman Catholic 100%; *Russians*—Eastern Orthodox, 89%, Uniat (in Austria), 3%, Ras kolnik, 8%; *Serbs*—Eastern Orthodox, 99.97%; Uniat, 0.02%, Catholics 0.01%; *Bulgarians*—Eastern Orthodox, 100%. The Ruthenians of Ga licia are nearly all Uniats, i. e., members of that portion of the Greek Church which in 1595 became united with the See of Rome. (See: *Lega tiones Alexandrina et Rothenica ad Clementam VIII . . . pro unione e communione cum sede Apostolica, anno 1595,* Roma, 1598.) A very small proportion (0.03 per cent.) belong to the independent Greek com munion, or Eastern Church, which must not be confounded with the Rus

sian Orthodox Church. The two millions Uniats are declared by an Ukase (1839) incorporated with the Russian Greek Eastern Church. A few Uniat Churches continue to exist in Galicia, South Hungary and Transylvania.

7. In the following poetical terms does the old chronicler picture the significance of Princess Olga's baptism: "She was the forerunner of Christianity in Russia, as the morning star is the precursor of the sun, and the dawn the precursor of the day. As the moon shines at midnight, she shone in the midst of a pagan people. She was like a pearl amid dirt, for the people were in the mire of their sins and not purified by baptism. She purified herself in a holy bath and removed the garb of sin of the old man Adam."

8. See also: *A. Palmieri,* La Chiesa russa, Firenze, 1908; *Boissard,* L. Église de Russie, Paris, 1888, 2 vols. (first edition, 1861); *W. F. Adams,* The Greek and Eastern Churches, N. Y., Scribner, 1908, 634; *A. Bulgakoff,* The Question of Anglican Orders (translated by Birbeck for the Church History Society), 1899; *A. Fortescue,* The Orthodox Eastern Church, London, Catholic Truth Co., 3rd ed., 1911, 451; *A. L. Hickmann,* Karte der Verbreitungsgebiete der Religionen in Europe, Wien, Freytag; *G. B. Howard,* The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches, London, Longman, 1892; *N. Milas,* Das Kirchenrecht der Morgenländischen Kirche, Mostar, 1908; *P. Mogila,* Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, London, 1750; *Neale,* History of the Holy Eastern Church, London, 1850; *Norden,* Das Papstum und Byzanz, Berlin, 1907; *Palmer,* Dissertations on the Orthodox or Eastern Communion, 1853; *A. Pichler,* Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident, München, 1864-5, 2 vols.; *T. Silbernagl,* Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämtlicher Kirche des Orients, Regensburg, Main, 1904, 2nd edit.; *Stanley,* History of the Eastern Church, London, 1862.

9. He was the most celebrated Serbian writer of the twelfth century. He wrote several works dealing with the Church discipline and Church rules and regulations, but his most famous work was his *Life of St. Simeon* (the life of his own royal father, who on making him a monk took the name of Simeon). It might be remarked here that Stephan Nemanya never took for himself the title of King (in Serbian *Kraly*), but his son Stephan was formally crowned as the first Serbian King, in the Church Zicha (in 1222).

10. *Ruzicich:* (1) Zur Entwicklung der kirchlich-nationalen Lebens bei den Serben (Inter. theolog. Zeitschrift, Bern, 1895-6); (2) Das kirchlich-religiöse Leben bei den Serben, Göttingen, 1896; *Von Radich, E.,* Die Verfassung der orthodox-serbischen und rumänischen Partikularkirchen, Neusatz, 1880; *N. Velimirovich,* Two Churches in One Nation, New York, 1915-16; *Grieve,* The Church and People of Servia, London, 1864.

11. The Russian Abbot Daniel throws some light in his "Journey to Jerusalem" (1106-1108) on the subsequent final schism of the Greek and Roman Church.

12. The Moravian and Slovak people were among those who first heard the story of Christ from Cyril and Methodius and at one time their tribes must have extended down to the Danube and the South-Slavs. The Magyars came in from Asia and the East, and like a wedge divided this group of northern Slavs from those on the south.

13. He was a priest, the librarian of the Patriarchate, and a professo of philosophy in the University of the Imperial Palace at Constanti nople. He was much esteemed for his ecclesiastical learning. See: *L. F M. Léger,* Cyrille et Methode: Étude Historique sur la convertion de Slavs au Christianism, Paris, 1868, XXV+230; *Ginzel,* Geschichte de Slavenapostel Cyrill und Method, und der slavischen Lithurgie, Wier 1861; *J. Dobrovsky,* Cyril und Method, der Slaven Apostel, Prag, 1823 *Nilles,* Kalendarium Manuale, I, Innsbruck, 1896; Echos d'Orient, VIII Paris, 1905; *N. Milash,* Gli apostoli slavi Cirillo et Metodio, Triest, 1887

14. Before Cyril invented his alphabet for the Slavic language (th Cyrillic letters used in writing Slavic language are adaptations of th uncial Greek alphabet, with the addition of a number of new letter to express sounds not found in the Greek tongue) there existed certai runes (or native characters) in which the southern Slavic dialect wa committed to writing. There is a tradition alluded to by the Pope Inno cent the Eleventh, that they were invented by St. Jerome as early a the fourth century; Professor V. Jagich thinks that they were really th original letters invented by Cyrillo and afterwards abandoned in favo of an imitation of Greek characters by his disciples and successors. Thi older alphabet, which still survives, is called the Glagolitic. The Slavi which is written in these characters is also the ancient tongue, but it dif fers considerably from the Slavic written in the Cyrillic letters. In fac it may be roughly compared to the difference between the Gaelic of Ire land and the Gaelic of Scotland. The Roman Mass was translated int this Slavic shortly after the Greek liturgy had been translated by Cyri and his brother, so that in the course of time among the Slavic tribes th south Slavic written in Glagolitic characters became the language of th Roman Rite, while the north Slavic written in Cyrillic letters was th tongue of the Greek Rite. The prevailing use of the Latin tongue an the adoption of the Roman alphabet by many Slavic tribes caused th use of the Glagolitic to diminish and Latin to gradually take its place The northern Slavs (Czechs, Poles, and Slovaks), who were converted b Latin missionaries, used the Latin in their rite from the very first. A present the Glagolitic is only used in Dalmatia, Istria and Croatia. Th Pope Urban the Eighth in 1631 definitely settled the use of the Glago litic-Slavic missal and office-books in the Roman Rite, and laid dow rules where the clergy of each language came in contact with each othe in regard to church services. The Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) pub lished two editions of the Glagolitic Missal.

15. See: *Balon,* Delle relazioni fra la chiessa Catolica e gli Slavi, Roma 1880; *C. Bojan,* Les Bulgares et les patriarche oecuménique, Paris, 1905 *C. Fermendzi,* Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab anno 1565 usque ad annun 1799, Agram, 1887, XXII+409; *R. von Mach,* The Bulgarian Exarchte London, 1907, 105; *Rattinger,* Die Bulgaren und die griechisch-schismat Kirchen ("Stimmen aus Maria Laach," IV, 1873, 45-7, 252-655); Istru zione della sagra congregazione de propaganda fide per i missionarj dell Bulgaria, intorno alla prattica do' Kurbani, Roma, 1760, pp. 15; *Les coeur, R. P.,* Du Tour des Bulgares au Catholicisme, Paris, 1860; *D'Avril Adolphe:* (1) Le Bulgarie chrétienne, Paris, 1861; (2) Actes relatifs l'Eglise Bulgare, Paris, 1864; (3) Documents relatifs aut Églises d l'Orient, Paris, 3rd 1885; *H. Gelzer:* (1) Geistliches und Weltliches au dem Türkisch-griechischen Orient, Leipzig, Teubner, 1900; (2) Von

heiligen Berge und aus Makedonien, Leipzig, Teubner, 1904.

16. See: *V. Jagich* (Ed.), Quettuor evangeliorum codex glagolitic olim zographensis nunc petropolitanus. Characteubus cyrillis transcriptum notis critica prolegomenis appendicibus auctum Berolini: A. Weidmannos, 1879, XLV+174; ***Jelich,*** Foutes historici liturgiae glag.—romanae saec, XV, No. 192; saec. XIX, No. 58, Veglae, 1906; ***W. Vondrak,*** Zur Frage nach dem Verhältnisse des Friesinger Denkmals zu einer Homilie von Klemens (Archiv. f. slavische Philologie, XXVIII, 1906, 256-61); ***G. A. Thal,*** Textkritische Studien zu Homilien des Glagolita Clozianus (Ibid., v. 24, 1902, 514-55); ***V. Jagic,*** Kritische Nachlese zum Texte der altserbischen ***Vita Symeonis*** (Stefan Nemanja's) geschrieben von seinem Sohne, dem erstgekrönten König Stefan (Ibid., v. 24, 1902, 556-67); ***M. Resetar,*** Eine altbosnische slawisch-griechische Inschrift (Ibid., vol. 27, 1905, 258-64); ***Frances, F.:*** (1) Einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Schrifttums in Kroatia (Ibid., vol. 35, 1914, 379-412; (2) Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Schrifttums in Kroatia (Ibid., vol. 34, 1913, 464-82); ***Bozidar Prokich,*** Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes Codex Vindobonensis hist. graec. LXXIV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sog. westbulgarischen Reiches, München, Kutzner, 1906, 54 (Dissertation); ***Z. Prohaska,*** Das kroatisch-serbische Schrifttum in Bosnien und Herzegovina von den Anfängen im XI. bis zur nationalen Wiedergeburt im XIX. Jahrhundert, Zagreb, Meyer, 1906, VIII+202; ***P. J. Schafarik,*** Übersicht der ältesten kirchenslawischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1848; ***V. Jagic,*** Die Albanesischen und Slawischen Schriften, Wien, 1883; ***L. Geitler,*** Die albanesischen und slavischen Schriften (fascimiles), Wien, 1883. See also other articles in V. Jagich's ***Archiv für slawische Philologie*** (published in Berlin, since 1875).

17. The teacher of the Tzar Alexander the First, J. F. La Harpe, 1739-1779), introduced the French influence which contained the germ of a bitter scepticism with regard to Russian life, combined with a decided leaning to Catholicism. This influence had impressed its mark on that Tzar's youthful liberalism, as well as on Speransky's plans for reform. The Catholic propaganda, which dates from the reign of Peter the Second, in the persons of Abbé Jubet, Princes Dolgorukaya, and the Duke of Liria, had its hour of brilliant triumph under Paul the First, for it had succeeded in planting the influence of Jesuits in the Tzar's own circle. The Catholic propaganda has been also favored both by the split between the upper class of society and the clergy, engendered by the reforms of Peter the Great and the works of De Maistre, Bonald and Châteaubriand. See: ***Father Pierling,*** Papes et Tzars, Paris, 1887; ***F. C. Laharpe:*** (1) Mémoires, Bern, 1864; (2) Le Gouverneur d'un Prince (F. D. Laharpe et Alexander I), Lausanne, 1902.

18. See Solovyev's works in English, French, and German: (1) La Russie et l'église universelle, Paris, 1906, 2. ed.; (2) War, progress, and history, London, 1915; (3) Religiöse Grundlagen des Lebens, Leipzig, 1899; (4) Geschichte und Zukunft der Theokratie, Leipzig, 1902; (5) Judentum und Christentum, Dresden, Tietz, 1911, XVI+103. See also ***M. d'Herbigny,*** Vladimir Soloviev d' après le prince Eugene Troubetzkoi ("Études par de pères de la Campagne de Jesus," Paris, 1913, vol. 130, 637-57); ***F. Lannes,*** Philosophie russes contemporains Vladimir Soloviev ("Rev. philos.," vol. 54, 1902, 596-611); ***L. M. Lopatin,*** The philosophy of Vladimir Soloviev ("Mind," No. 100, Oct., 1916, 425-60); ***Ossip-***

Louris, Un mystique russe, Vl. Solovyev (Nouv. Rev., XII, 1903, 79-96); *F. A. Palmieri*, Vladimir Soloviev and his theory on the religious dissension between the East and the West ("Catholic University Bulletin, Washington, D. C., XX, 1914, 505-22); *E. L. Radlov*, Vladimir Solovyev, St. Petersburg, 1913, 966; *J. B. Severac*, Vladimir Soloviev: Introduction et choix de textes traduits pour la première fois, Paris, Michaud, 1910, 218; *F. Steppuhn*, Wladimir Seolowjew (Z. f. Phil. u. phil. Kritik, vol. 138, 1910, 1-79, 239-91); *Prince E. Trubetskoj*, The "Weltanschauung" of Vladimir Solovyev ("Russian Review," II, 1913, 208-11); *D. v. Usnadsel*, Die metaphysische Weltanschauung Wladimir Seolowiows mit orientierenden Überblick einer Erkenntnistheorie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der russischen Philosophie, Halle a. S., 1909, 167 (Dissertation); *M. Zdziechowski*, Wladimir Solowiew: Ein Blick in das russische Geistesleben der Gegenwart ("Kultur", VII, 1906, 304-22); *Tumarkin*, W. Solovyev als Philosoph, Berlin, 1905.

19. Strossmayer was known by his world-famous speech in the Council of the Vatican—1871, under Pope Pius IX—where he spoke in Latin for sixteen consecutive hours against the doctrine of Papal infallibility. (The *Pastor Aeternus* bull of July 18, 1869, defined the dogma of infallibility thus: "The Pope, when he speaks from the throne, *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in exercising the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine on faith or morals which must be adhered to by the whole Church, possesses, by virtue of the divine aid promised him in the person of St. Peter, that *infallibility*, with which the Divine Savior wished to invest his Church in the definition of doctrine of faith and morals; consequently the Pope's definitions under these conditions are in themselves incapable of amendment, even by the consent of the Church"). In the midst of this great speech he was interrupted by the Archbishop of Paris, who embraced and kissed him, and assured him that what he had already said was amply convincing. Strossmayer's mother was the daughter of a Slavic peasant and his grandfather was a German settler in Slavonia. He did not love Germans, and was a great South-Slavic patriot. See: *Gradenath-Kroch*, Geschichte des vatikanischen Konzils, Freiburg, 1903-6, vols. II & III.

20. The principle according to which subjects follow the religion of their ruler—*cuius regio, eius religio*—a principle still recognised in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), has practically fallen into disuse in central and western Europe. With Stoicism and Christianity God has been internationalized, and the present nationalization of God as indicated by some national hymns (*Dieu protége la France* or *Gott mit uns* or *Gott erhalte, Gott beschütze, unser Kaiser*, or *God Save the King* or *Boze Tzarya Khrani*) is a retardation rather than acceleration in this matter.

21. The best work on Hus is F. Palacky's *Historia et monumenta Documenti Magistiri Joannis Hus* (Prague, 1869). The works of Hus in the Czech language were published by K. J. Erben (Prague, 1865-1868). E. de Bonnechosa published a French translation of his letters (Paris, 1846), from which an English translation was made (London, 1846); F. B. Mikovec prepared one in German (Leipzig, 1869). Novotny began a German translation of his sermons (Görlitz, 1855). See also: *J. Baker*, Pictures from Bohemia (Religious Tract Society, Society Press, 1905);

W. Berger, J. Huss und König Sigismund, Augsburg, 1811; *E. Denis,* Jean Hus et la guerre de Hussites, Paris, 1876; *J. Friedrich,* Die Lehre des J. Huss, Regensburg, 1862; *E. H. Gillett,* The Life and times of John Hus, Boston, 1863-1864, 2 vols.; *J. A. v. Helfert,* Huss und *Hieronimus,* Prag, 1853; *E. L. T. Hanka,* J. Huss und die Synode von Constanz, Berlin, 1866; *G. L. Herman,* J. Huss, Dublin, 1854; *Höfler,* Magister J. Huss und der Abzug der deutschen Professoren und Studenten aus Prag, 1405, Prag, 1864; *Jepp-Gerson, A.,* Wiclifus und Huss, Göttingen, 1857; *L. Krumme,* J. Huss, Heidelberg, 1870; *W. v. Langsdorff,* Ausgewählte Predigten des J. Huss, Leipzig, 1894; *G. V. Lechler:* (1) J. Huss, Halle, 1889; (2) John Wielif and his English Prosecutors, London, 1884; *Loserth,* Wiclif and Hus, London, 1884; *K. Müller,* König Sigismund's Gelert für Huss, Leipzig, 1898; *Count v. Lutzow,* The Life and Time of Master John Hus, N. Y., 1909; *D. S. Schaff,* John Hus: his life, teachings and death, after five hundred years, N. Y., 1915; *W. N. Schwarze,* John Hus—the Martyr of Bohemia, N. Y., Revell, 1915, 152; *H. E. Worman & A. M. Pope,* The Letters of John Hus, London, 1904; *Wratislaw, A. H.,* John Hus, London, 1882.

22. When the chain was placed around the neck of Hus he exclaimed with a smile, "Welcome this chain for Christ's sake." The faggots having been piled up to his neck, the Duke of Bavaria, in a brutal manner, called on him to recant. "No," cried the martyr, "I take God to witness I preached none but his own pure doctrines and what I taught I am ready to seal with my blood."

23. After the death of Jan Hus the Moravian Brethren assiduously cultivated the spirit of nationalism and directed their energies to developing their native idiom and religious spirit. Only Boguslav of Lobkovich (1462-1510) and Rehor Hruby of Jeleni (1450-1514) were opposed to the doctrines of Hus. The followers of Jan Hus are called Husites. Honoring him as a martyr, about 450 Czech nobles formed a league, protesting against the action of the Council of Constance which had condemned Hus to be burned, and bidding defiance to decrees of bishops and the Pope. The symbol of their confederacy was the cup, the use of which in the Lord's Supper they extended to the laity, as had already been done with the approbation of Hus. King Wenceslaw of Bohemia was constrained to grant them the use of many churches. After his death (August, 1419) the majority refused to recognize as King his brother, the Emperor Sigismund, who had broken his safe-conduct given to Jan Hus. The so-called Hussite wars followed. For eight years (1420-1427) the Husites, led by their generals, Zizka and Andrew Procopius (c. 1380-1434), were victorious against the forces sent against them by the Emperor and the Pope, and in 1429 and 1430 they carried terror into the countries of Germany bordering on Bohemia. Convents and churches were reduced to ashes, and priests and monks were slain. From the beginning the Husites had included two main parties,—(1) the more conservative, called *Callextines* or *Utraquists,* more in sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church and hoping for an ultimate reconciliation, and (2) the radical, called *Taborists,* who went much further in rejecting doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. (A third faction, intermediate between them, was called *Orphans.*) Professor Palymov, an orthodox Russian theologian, calls the Hus doctrine the real spirit of the Eastern Orthodox Church. A Serbian theologian, Pro-

fessor Dr. Nikolay Velimirovich of Belgrade University seems to accept this view. See also: *F. v. Bezold:* (1) König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Hussiten, Munich, 1872-5; (2) Zur Geschichte des Hussitenthums, Munich, 1874; *F. P. E. Boisnormand de Bonnechose,* Les Réformateurs avant le réforme, Paris, 1845 (Engl. translation, N. Y., 1849); *E. Denis,* Les Hussites et la guerre (La Nation Tchéque, II, 1917, 259-62); *Höfler,* Geschichtsschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen (in: Fontes Rev. Austriacarum, S. S. I, VI, K. K. Akad. d. Wiss., Wien, 1856-65); *C. F. Lutzow:* (1) Bohemia; a historical sketch, in Everyman's Library, London; (2) Prague, London, Dent & Sons, 1910; *E. J. Whately,* Sketches of Bohemian Religious History, London, 1870; The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia, London, 1845, 2 vols. (translated from German). See also *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hussitenkriege,* Prag, 1869.

24. Prague (Praha, in Czech) is a city which has a flavor of its own, a distinction well conveyed in a passage by the French writer and historian, to whom the western world owes much of its knowledge about Slavic history, Ernest Denis: "Florence, like a painting of Botticelli, is elegant and delicate. Venice is voluptuous and magnificent as a painting of Titian. Paris is charming, and pleases the stranger because there everybody breathes a smiling charm and the desire to please. Vienna is joyous and sparkling like an operette of Offenbach. . . . Bruges and Ratisbon have the melancholy grandeur of ruins—Prague is tragical. Every one of its stones recalls an heroic drama."

25. Jan Blahoslav (1523-1571) wrote an excellent history of the Moravian Brethren, of whom he was a bishop. He is also famous for his supervision of the Czech translation of the Bible from the original tongues, which is for the Czech what the King James Version of the Bible is for the English. Blahoslav did not live to see his work printed; it was published in 6 vols. in 1579-93, at the expense of Jan of Zherotin, a Moravian patron of letters, and is known as the "Kralitz Bible."

26. See also English edition under the title: *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on the Country in literary, moral and political respects,* London, 1838, 2 vols. (2. ed. 1851, Edinburgh). See also his: *Lectures on Slavonia, or Religious History of the Slavonic Nations,* London, 1869.

27. Only few facts about the Polish Church: In 1733 Non-Catholics are excluded from office. In 1774 the Protestants who have attacked the Jesuit College are massacred at the "Blood-bath of Thorn." In 1638 the School of Racov is closed by the Jesuits. In 1660 Unitarians are expelled from Poland, and settle in large numbers in Holland. In 1606 the Macaronic Period, dominated by the Jesuits begins and continues for a century and a half. In 1605 the Racovian catechism, (compiled by Socinus, Crell and others) becomes the recognized creed of the Unitarians. In 1603 Socinus rallies the Unitarian parties to his own views at the Synod of Racau. In 1595 at the Synod of Brzec, the Polish Church attaches itself to the Western Church. In 1570 by the consensus of Sendomir, on the lines of Melanchton's later ideas, the Calvinists, Lutherans, and Bohemian Brothers are united. At the same moment, the Jesuits enter the kingdom. In 1568 the Unitarians of Transylvania separate from the Protestants. In 1565 the Unitarians are excluded from the

synods of the Reformation Church. In 1557 Calvinism having spread among the nobles and Lutheranism among the citizens, owing to the tolerance of the King, a Synod permits all to worship freely in their own houses. In 1526, despite the efforts of the King, and the Church, Protestantism gains a hold through books, through education of youths at Wittenberg, and through commerce with German towns, and loses its earliest martyrs.

28. See: *Nikolay Velimirovich:* (1) The Religious Spirit of the Slav, London, Macmillan & Co., 1916; (2) Christianity and War, New York, 1915, 31 pp.; *Th. G. Masaryk,* Zur russischen Geschichts-und Religionsphilosophie, Jena, Fischer, 1913; *G. A. Scheusing,* Religion der Moscowiter, Frankfurt, 1714; *S. Bulgakov,* Heroism and Service: Thoughts on the Religious Character of the Russian Intelligentsia ("Russian Rev.," III, 1914, 13-20).

29. Under Russia the official estimates reckoned the adherents of the Russian National Church at about 90 millions, or 70 per cent., of the Russian population. In this reckoning, however, are included the various sects Raskolniks. Only the Russian National Church is the established Church and the budget of its synod comes before the Duma. The Holy Synod of the Russian Church, subsidized by the Government, entered the educational field, and to-day the clergy have 40,000 "safe" schools in opposition to the 60,000 under public authority.

30. See: *H. Dalton,* Evangelische Kirche in Russland, Leipzig, 1900; *C. K. Gruss,* Die russische Sekten, Leipzig, 1907, 2 vols.; *Heard, A. F.,* The Russian Church and Russian dissent, London, 1887; *N. Tsakni,* Russie Sectaire, Paris, 1888.

31. They rejected the mass, purgatory, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, and the adoration of images, and contended the communion in both kinds. See: *C. Becker,* Die beiden böhmischen Reformatoren und Märtyrer, Nördlingen, 1858; *D. Benham,* Notes on the Origin and Episcopate of the Bohemian Brethren, London, 1867; *A. Borst,* Histoire ancienne et moderne de èglise des Frères de Bohème et de Moravie, Gèneve, 1831, 2 vols. (English translation: History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, London, 1867); *J. Camerarius,* Historica narratio de fratrum orthodoxorum ecclesics in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia, Heidelberg, 1605; *Cranz, D.:* (1) Alte und neue Brüder Historie, Barby, 1771 (Engl. translation, London, 1780); (2) Die Reformation und Anti-Reformation in Böhmen, London, 1845; *E. W. Cröger,* Geschichte der alten Brüderkirche, Gnadan, 1865; *B. Czerwenka,* Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen, Bielfield, 1870, 2 vols.; *J. Dobneck* (*Cochlaeus*), Hist. Hussitarium, Mainz, 1549; *J. G. Ehwalt,* Die alte und neue Lehre der böhmischen Brüder, Danzig, 1756; *A. Gindely:* (1) Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder, Prag, 1857, 2 vols.; (2) Quellen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder, Wien, 1861; (3) History of the Thirty Years War, N. Y., 1884, 2 volumes; *J. T. Hamilton,* History of the Moravian Church during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Bethlehem, Pa., 1900; *E. J. Hutton,* Short History of the Moravian Church, London, Moravian Publ. Office, 1895; *J. C. Koecher,* Die drei letzte und vornahmste Glaubensbekentnisse der böhmischen Brüder, Leipzig, 1741; *J. Lasicius:* (1) De origine et institutis Fratrum libri vivi (only the eighth book was published, edited by J. A. Comenius, 1649); (2) Historia persecutiorum ecclescica Bohemicae, Amsterdam, 1648 (Engl. transl.,

London, 1650); *G. C. Bieger,* Die alte und neue böhmische Brüder als deren Historie, Zullichau, 1734-40, 3 vols.; *E. A. De Schweinitz,* History of the Church Known as *Unitas Fratrum,* London, 1885; *E. A. Senft,* L'Église de l' Unité des Frères, Neuchâtel, 1888; *Weaver,* The beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England, Baildon, 1901.

32. See also: *Léger,* L'hérésie des Bogomiles ("Rev. des quest. hist.," VIII, 1870, 479-517); *A. Lombard,* Pauliciens, Bulgares et Bonhommes, Geneva, 1879; *M. Gaster,* Greko-Slavonic Literatur, London, 1887; *J. C. Wolf,* Historia Bogomilorum, Wittenberg, 1712; *E. Zygadenus,* Narratio de Bogomilis (ed. Gieseler), Göttingen, 1842; *Kukuljevic-Sakcinski,* Slovo svyatago Kozmyana yeretika, in *Archives* for the South-Slavic History, Zagreb, vol. IV, 1859, pp. 69-97).

33. *Bonwetsch,* Raskolniken (Herzog-Hamk's Realencyklop, 3. ed., 1905, XVI, p. 436); *W. J. Birkbeck:* (1) Visit to a Settlement of Old Believers ("Russian Review," III, 1914, 74-83); (2) Russia and the English Church During the Last Fifty Years, London, 1895; *P. Birukoff, J. Tregubоff & W. Tschertkoff,* Christenverfolgung der russischen Kirche, Leipzig, 1898; *Palmieri,* Il ristabilmento del patriarcato in Russia (Bessariome, X, pp. 43 seq.). See also: The Patriarch and the Tzar: The Replies of Nikon (translated by W. Palmer, London, 1871); Les Rascol: Essai sur les Sectes religieuse en Russie, Paris, 1878; Les Raskol: Essai historique et critique sur les sectes religieuse en Russie, Paris, 1859.

34. *J. Elkinton:* (1) The Doukhobors: their history in Russia; their migration to Canada, Philadelphia, 1903; (2) The Doukhobors (Charities, XIII, 1904; 252-6); *V. Tchertkoff,* Christian Martyrdom in Russia (The Free Age Press, Christchurch, Hants).

35. This is closely related with *Kalpa* measurement of time, which in Sanskrit means "measure" or "rule," as in the Kalpasutra (one of the Vedangas) which is a string of precepts or "ceremonial rubric." As a measure of time Kalpa is a "day of Brahma", which is 1,000 years, or a divine year of 360 human years. There are four Kalpas, at the end of which the world is destroyed by water, wind, earthquake, and fire. (Peruvians had two such ages with destruction by plague, one by hurricane, and a fourth by flood.) The Aztecs knew of four such ages before the present one, when the world was destroyed by water, wind, fire and famine. Each Kalpa is worse than the preceding one, and shorter in its duration. The Krita age was 4,800 divine years; the Treta was 3,600; the Dvapara 2,400; and the present Kalpa, or Kaliyunga, is to be 1,200 divine years to the coming of Kalki. The total Hindu astronomical cycles consist of 4,320,000 human years, based on multiples of the Babylonian unit of 60, and on the coincidence of lunar and solar years. The lunation is thus made to be 29 days, 12 hours, 44′ 2″, 47‴, 36⁗; and the solar year 365 days, 5 hours, 31′, 3″, 24‴. The four Kalpas, being in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, and 1, constitute this Maha-yunga ("great age"), each divine year being 360 human years: for $(4800 + 3600 + 2400 + 1200)\ 360 = 4{,}320{,}000$.

36. In 1582 the Metropolitan of Moscow is made a Patriarch, and the Russian Church becomes the autocephalous. In 1613, Michael, son of Philaret, Patriarch of Moscow, becomes Tzar and founder of the house of Romanov. In 1658, Patriarch Nicon quarrels with the Tzar, and retires. In 1667, a council of the Eastern Patriarchs meets in Moscow and condemns Nicon and elects a new Patriarch. In 1702, the Patriarchate of

Moscow is abolished. In place of the Patriarchate of Moscow, the Holy Synod is appointed to rule the Russian Church and the Tzar, who chooses its members, and may veto its decisions (1721). In 1762, Platon, afterwards Metropolitan of Moscow, compiles a Catechism (he rapidly gains an unrivalled reputation as a preacher). In 1776 Catherine the Second permits liberty of worship, and allows Mohammedans to build mosques. In 1812, the Tzar founds a Bible Society, which, however, is suppressed by his successor. In 1839, Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, composes a Catechism, which is authorized by the Holy Synod, and is used in the schools and churches. In 1860, Russia builds a monastery and a house for pilgrims at Jerusalem. In 1881, Pobyedonostzev becomes the Procurator of the Holy Synod and in his *Reflections* (1898) criticises liberals in politics and religion and defends the principle of authority as it appeared in the institutions of Russia.

37. See also his *Russia and England* in "Daily News and Leader" (Feb. 14, 1914).

38. See his writings: (1) With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem, London, Macmillan, 1913; (2) On the Banks of the Jordan (Harper's, Aug., 1913); (3) On the Pilgrim Boat (Ibid., July, 1913); (4) With Russian peasants at the Sepulchre in Jerusalem ("Russ. Rev., II, 1913, 130-6); (5) With poor Russian immigrants to America, New York, Macmillan, 1914, 306; (6) One of the Higher Intelligentsia ("Russ. Rev.," I, 1912, 120-30); (7) A Tramp's Sketches, London, Macmillan, 1913, XIII+339; (8) A vagabond in the Caucasus with some notes of his experiences among the Russians, London, Lane, 1911, 311; (9) Russia and the World, New York, Macmillan, 1915, 305; (10) Changing Russia, London, 1913, IX+309; (11) Russia in 1916, N. Y., Macmillan, 1917, 191; (12) Through Russian Central Asia, N. Y., Macmillan, 1916, XII+298; (13) The Way of Martha and The Way of Mary, N. Y., Macmillan, 1917, etc.

39. See also: *G. Balas,* Une visite à quelques églises de Serbie, Bucarest, 1911, 44; *W. J. Bierbeck,* Russia and the English Church during the last fifty years, London, 1895; *M. P. Boulgakov,* Choix de sermons et de discours de Son Eminence Macaire, Paris, Cherbuliez, 1869, XI+508; *S. Bulgakov,* The Russian Public and Religion (Russian Review, I, 1912, 11-27); *S. Dabovich,* Orthodox Church, Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1898, 85; *H. Dalton:* (1) Offenes Sendschreiben an den Oberprokureur des russischen Synods, Herrn Kirkl. Geheimrat Konstantin Pobedonoszeff, Berlin, 1889; (2) Die russische Kirche (Leipzig, 1892; (3) Geschichte der reformierten Kirche in Russland, Gotha, 1865; (4) Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischer Kirche in Russland, Gotha, 1887-1905, 4 vols.; *M. G. Dampner,* History of the Orthodox Church in Austria-Hungary, Hermannstadt, 1890; *D. Farlatus & Others,* Illyricum sacrum, Venice, 1751-1819; *J. Fiedler,* Ein Versuch der Vereinigung der russischer mit der römischer Kirche im 16. Jahrhunderte ("Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Classe," Wien, vol. 40, 1862, 27-123); *D. Filozofov,* Der Zar als Papst, München, 1900, 56; *L. K. Goetz:* (1) Staat und Kirche in Alt-Russland; Kiever Periode 988-1240, Berlin, 1908; (2) Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands, Stuttgart, Enke, 1905, VIII+403; (3) Das Kiewer Höhlenkloster als Kulturzentrum des vormongolischen Russland, Passau, 1904; *I. F. Hapgood,* (Transl.) Service book of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Church, Boston, Houghton, 1906, XXXVIII+615; *I. N. W. Irvine,* An open letter to the prelates of the Holy Orthodox Catholic

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Sévérac, La Secte russe des hommes de Dieu, Paris, 1906; *N. Bonwetch,* Russian Church (The New Schaff-Herzog Relig. Inc., X, 117-24); *Gondal,* L'Église russe, Paris, Bloud, 1905; *A. Malvy,* La Réforme de l'église russe, Paris, 1906; *Platon,* Present State of the Greek Church in Russia, Edinburgh, 1814 (N. Y., 1815); *Count Leo Tolstoy,* Russische Christenverfolgungen in Kaukasus, Dresden & Leipsic, 1896; *P. Strahl:* (1) Beiträge zur russischen Kirchengeschichte, Berlin, 1827; (2) Geschichte der russischen Kirche, Leipzig, 1830; *G. Semeria,* La Chiesa greco-russa, Geneva, 1904; *Harnack,* Der Geist der morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der abendländlichen, Berlin, 1903; *A. C. Headlam,* The teaching of the Russian Church, Rivington (published for Easter Church Association), 1897; *W. Palmer,* Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the years 1840-1841, London, Longmans & Co., 1895; *H. J. Schmitt:* (1) Die morgenländisch-griechisch-russische Kirche, Leipzig, 1826; (2) Kritische Geschichte der neugriechisch und russischen Kirche, Maintz, 1854; *A. Riley* (Ed.), Bierbeck and the Russian Church, N. Y., Macmillan, 1917; *J. J. Bellermann,* Kurzer Abriss der russischen Kirche, etc., Erfurt, 1788, 247. See also: Dissertatio de origine Christianae Religionis in Russia, 1826; L'Église russe a-t-elle fait quelque chose pour l'affranchissement des paysans en Russie, Genève, 1861, 78; Mémoire médit sur la Réform de l'Église russe, envoyé par Cathérine II a Voltaire, Leipzig, 1803; La Russe est-elle schismatique? Aux hommes de bone foi par un Russe-Orthodox, Paris, 1859; The Russo-Greek Church, N. C., 1865; Die Pflänzung des Christenthums unter den Slaven, Leipzig, 1852; The Russian Catechism, composed and published by order of the Tzar Peter I, London, Downing, 1723, VIII+106; Missionary and religious progress in Russia, Lond., 1865, 6.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. See his works: *What is Art?* (1898); *My Religion* (1884); *My Confession* (1879-1882); *Criticism of Greek Orthodox Theology* (1880-1881); *What's to be Done* (1884); *The Kingdom of God is within You; or, Christianity not a mystical doctrine but a new life-conception* (1893); *The Gospels Translated, Compared, and Harmonized* (1880-1882); *Work While You Have the Light"* (1888); *The Gospel in Brief* (1880), *What Shall We Do Then* (1885), *On Life* (1887).

2. Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol, in his "Excerpts from the Correspondence with My Friends" (1847) presented the painful spectacle of recantation and negation of his artistic work, in a manner anticipating Count Tolstoy's utterances.

3. See his *Essays on Russian novelists,* New York, Macmillan, 1911, 322.

4. In a recent number of the *National Geographic Society Bulletin* (1916), we read the following dilemma of Prince Marko, an old Serbian legend of a prophecy and its fulfilment:

Prilep, in Serbia, is dear to the hearts of all Serbian peasants, for around it cluster countless stories of one of the nation's most popular legendary superman—Marko Kraljevich, otherwise King's Son Marko.

The ruins of the castle of King's Son Marko overlook the town, and if

the visitor proves to be a sympathetic auditor the guide will no doubt point out to him in the slabs of rock which strew the approach to the stronghold the indelible hoof prints of the master's favorite steed, Sharatz. And if you should happen to be in Prilep on the anniversary of Marko's festival, or "slava," you can prove to your own satisfaction whether there is any truth in the widely credited peasant legend that at midnight the doors of the castle chapel burst open and the hero, fully armed, rides in on his piebald charger, although the Marko of the flesh has been dead for 500 years.

In an old Serbian ballad called "Marko's Judgment" there is recited this prophecy: Kralj (King) Vukashin, Marko's father, whose chief fortified city was Prilep, speaks first: "Son Marko, may God slay thee! Thou shalt have neither monument nor posterity, and ere thy spirit leaves thy body the Turkish sultan thou shalt serve." Then speaks the Tzar, Stephen Dushan: "Friend Marko, may God help thee! Bright be thy face in the senate, sharp thy sword in battle. Never shall hero surpass thee. And thy name shall be remembered so long as sun and moon endure."

And here, according to peasant folklore, is how that prophecy was fulfilled: Upon the death of Vukashin, Lazar Hreblianovich, Count of Sirmium, was elected Tzar. Bitterly disappointed at the failure of his own candidacy, Marko threatened the life of Lazar and was forthwith deprived of his fief. Penniless and disheartened, Marko turned to the court of the hated sultan and enlisted in his army to fight the Moslems of Asia Minor. (It should be remembered that it was no disgrace for a Serbian to fight with the Turks provided the opposing forces were other Turks, for a Turk less, in whatever cause slain, was a blessing in the eyes of the Serbians.)

In time, however, Marko's command was brought west to wage war against the orthodox prince of the Rumans. Loyal to his Mohammedan sovereign, when he came upon the field of battle, Marko's heart failed him when he saw the men of his own faith drawn up against him, and, facing the dilemma of choosing between proving traitor to his chief or lifting his sword against those of his own faith, he cried out, *"Oh, God, do thou this day destroy all those who fight against Christendom and foremost Marko!"* Saying this, he threw his body on the Christian spears and died without striking a blow.

5. Chedo Miyatovich in his Preface to W. M. Petrovich's *Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians* (New York, Stokes, 1915, p. XII) points out a relation of the dynasty of which Marko Kraljevich was the last representative; a certain Prince John Mussachi, in a historical memoir stated that Marko's father, King Vukashin, was the descendant of a certain nobleman named Britanius or Britanicus. See Mussachi's memoir in the *Chroniques Graeco-Romaines, inedites ou pas connues,* (Berlin, 1873), of Karl Hopf (1832-1873).

6. Chedo Miyatovich says the following about Prince Marko: "Marko is a historical personality. But what history has to say about him is not much, and certainly not of the nature to explain how he became the favourite hero of the Serbian people. He was a loyal and faithful vassal of the Sultan, a fact hardly likely to win him the respect and admiration of the Serbians. Yet the Serbians throughout the last five centuries have respected, admired, loved their Royal Prince Marko, and were, and are

now and will ever be proud of him. This psychological puzzle has stirred up the best Serbian and some other historical students and authors to investigate the matter. It is evident to all that most of the songs on Marko must have been composed under the mighty influence of his personality upon his contemporary countrymen. Dr. Yagich, Dr. Maretich, Professor Stoykovich and St. Novakovich all believe that his athletic strength and personal appearance were responsible for much of the impression he made. All agree that his conduct in everyday life and on all occasions was that of a true knight,—a *cavaliere servente, a chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.* Even his attachment and unfailing readiness to serve the Sultan was counted in his favour, as proof of his absolute loyalty of character. Probably that very loyalty was appreciated by the Sultan and enabled Marko not rarely to appeal to the Sultan in favour of his people, especially when some prisoners or slaves were to be liberated and saved. He was certainly the protector of poor and suffering men and women, and went to their rescue at all and every personal risk and cost. He must have given real proofs of his devotion to the cause of justice; that is what endeared him to his generation as well as to the generations which followed. The Serbians painted him from the model which his own personality and his actual deeds offered to the nation. One of the most beautiful features of his knightly character as described by the national bards is his love of and pity for suffering animals. . . . By far the best study on the Serbian national hero has been written by the Russian professor M. Khalanski, who explains the puzzle by the natural sympathy of the people for a 'tragic hero.' The historical Marko was certainly a 'tragic hero'. Nothing proves that better than his last words before the battle of Rovina began (1399)." (See his Preface to W. M. Petrovich's *Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians,* pp. X-XXII.) No doubt, the Serbian National Muse is so fond of Prince Marko that it raised him to the proud place of Serbia's symbol of freedom, the embodiment of her ineradicable hatred of the Turks.

7. Kesedziya means *fighter* or *bully.* It is the nickname of an Albanian chevalier-brigand Musa, a quarrelsome Moslem chief, who defied for years the distant power of the Sultan. The incident described in this poem ("Prince Marko and Musa Kesedziya") refers to and recounts (according to some Serbian historians) an event which actually took place in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

8. When Achilles finally met his rival, Hector, he engaged him in battle, and killed him with a thrust of his mighty spear. Then, fastening the corpse of the Trojan hero to chariot wheels, he dragged it furiously over the blood-soaked plain and around the city walls, and twelve youths were sacrificed to the spirit of Patrocles.

9. It was on St. Vitus' Day, or Vidov Dan, June 28, 1389, that 100,000 Serbs and 300,000 Turks met in battle on the Kosovo Plain. The Serbs lost their Tzar Lazar, and all their nobility; the Turks the greater part of their army. It is interesting to note how in Europe the report spread that the Serbs had been victorious, and in Florence and Paris all the bells were rung for joy, and a service of thanksgiving was held in Nôtre Dame, which was attended by Charles the Sixth with all his Court.—P.R.R.

10. Leonidas, the king of Sparta, resisted every attempt of the Persians—even the flower of their army, the 10,000 "Immortals"—to force

the Thermopylae (Hot Gates) a narrow defile between the mountains and the sea, until a path over the mountains, revealed by treachery, enabled them to attack the Greeks from the rear, and the 300 Spartans with their king were then overwhelmed, and all perished save one. A monument afterwards erected on the spot bore this inscription: "Stranger, tell the Lacedaemonians that we lie here obeying their laws."—P.R.R.

11. Caius Mucius "Scaevolo" (the Lefthanded) thrust his right hand into the fire that was burning on altar, and held it there till it was completely consumed.—P.R.R.

12. Published in S. Tucich's *The Slav Nations* (London, Hodder & Co., 1915, VIII+192), pp. 178-192.

CHAPTER XIX

1. Zemstvo (country council) was created by an imperial decree in 1864. It is a sort of local government board elected by landlords. Zemstvos and local dumas send their delegates to the Russian council or assembly called *Duma* (*dumat*, to think over, reflect upon). The name *duma* was first suggested by Speranski, under Tzar Alexander the First, for the suggested parliament of delegates from the *zemstvos* and *local dumas*.—P.R.R.

2. On Feb. 19, 1861, Czar Alexander the Second, signed the famous *Act of Emancipation* whereby 52,000,000 serfs were freed; the serfs become owners of parts of their land (Immediately after the issue of this Edict Milutin, its principal author, falls from power). Before this Act only 1.7% of all lands were in the hand of small landowners, the bulk of 64% was claimed by the Government, and the rest by the gentry and by syndicates. After more than 40 years of appropriation (1900) the peasants own only 24.1%, or 3.5 acres per individual allotment of all privately-owned lands. The nobility's share is 57.3%. The most recent statistics show that after the enactment of the law permitting withdrawal of land from the commune (1906), out of 90,099,000 communal members 17,874,000, or only about 19%, withdrew by May 1, 1906. The area of land held by the communes was (in 1906) 997,242,000 desyatines; by 1913, of this land was withdrawn 127,698,000 desyatines, or only about 11%.

3. It is a fact that the great mass of the Russian people, 81.6%, belong to the peasant order, the others being nobility, 1.3%, clergy, 0.9%, the burghers and merchants, 9.3%, and military, 6.1%. Russia is a land of peasantry, for in it something like 87% live in the country as against 13% in the towns. (In the United States almost 46% live in cities.) Russia is, in fact, 145,000,000 peasants ploughing and praying. The five largest cities in Russia—in 1913—with their population in even hundred thousands, are Petrograd, 2,100,000, Moscow 1,800,000, Warsaw 700,000, Odessa 600,000, Kiev 600,000. Of Russia's 1,231 cities, 1,068 have their streets lighted at night, 162 having electric light, 128 gas, and the others kerosene; 54 cities have street cars; there are over 1,500 moving pictures in Russian cities.

4. The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life and

Religion, London, 1888. He also wrote: Russia under the Tzars, London, 1885 (French edition: La Russie sous les Tzars, Paris, 1885, 2 vols.); Underground Russia, London, 1883; King Stork and King Log: a Study of Modern Russia, London, 1895 (French edition: La Russie Souterraine, Paris, 1885); The Russian Storm-Cloud or Russia in her relations to neighboring countries, New York, Harper, 1881-43.

5. *Volost* is the administrative unit composed of several village communes.—P.R.R.

6. Dr. Thomas M. Balliet (Dean of New York University School of Pedagogy) called my attention to this particular statement of John Fiske, for which I am thankful.

7. See the works of *Maksim Maksimovich Kovalevsky:* (1) Tableau des origines et de l'evolution des origines et de la properiété, Stockholm, 1900; (2) The Origin of Modern Democracy, London, 1900; (3) La régime économique de la Russie, Paris, 1898; (4) Les questions sociales au moyen-âge, Paris, 1902; (5) La Russie à la fin du XIX ème siècle, Paris, 1900; (6) Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia: Illchester Lectures for 1889-90; London, 1891, X+260; (7) L'Agriculture en Russie, Paris, 1897; (8) Die Produktronskräfte Russlands, Leipzig, 1898, etc.

8. See his *Qu-est-ce que le progrès?* Paris, 1879.

9. See also: *P. Apostol,* Das Artjel. Eine wirtschaftliche Studie, Stuttgart, 1898; *Dupré de St. M.,* Observations sur les moeurs et les usages russes, Paris, 1829, 3 vols.; *A. H. Ford,* America's Agricultural Regeneration of Russia (Century Mag., May-Oct., 1901, 501-7); *N. V. Gogol,* Home Life of Russia, London, 1854, 2 vols.; *L. Tikhomirov,* Russia: Political and Social, London, 1892, 2 vols.; *J. Engelmann,* Die Leibeigenschaft in Russland, Leipsig, 1884; *Ewers,* Das älteste Recht der Russen, Dorpat, 1826; *Holstein, A. de and D. B. Monteflori,* Serf Life in Russia, London, 1906; *I. A. Hourwich,* The Economics of the Russian Village, New York Columbia University Publications, 1892; *J. Hube,* Geschichtliche Darstellung der Erbfolgerechte der Slaven, Posen, 1836; *Ischchanian, B.,* Die ausländische Elemente in der russischen Volkswirtschaft: Geschichte, Ausbreitung, Berufsgruppierung, Interessen und ekonomisch-kulturelle Bedeutung der Ausländer in Russland, Berlin, 1912; *Lestrelin,* Le paysans russes, leurs usages, moeurs, caractère, Paris, 1861; *L. Litoshenko,* Landed Property in Russia ("Russian Review," II, 1913, 185-207); *N. Lvov,* The Place of Local Government under the Constitution (Ibid., III, 1914, 122-33); *A. Kaufmann:* (1) Die bäuerlichen Gemeinde in Sibirien, St. Petersburg, 1907; (2) Komplizierte Formen des sibirischen Gemeindebesitzes, Irkutsk, 1896; *K. Kautsky,* Die Bauern und die Revolution in Russland ("Neue Zeit," XXVII, 1904-5, pp. 670-7); *H. P. Kennard,* The Russian peasant, London, W. Laurie, 1907, 302; *J. v. Keussler,* Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Gemeindebesitzes in Russland, Riga and St. Petersburg, 3 vols, 1876-87; *A. Koefoed,* Die gegenwärtige russische Agragargesetzgebung und ihre Durchführung in die Praxis, St. Petersburg, 1912; *B. Lebedov,* The Abolition of the Russian "Mir" (Contemporary Rev., Jan., 1913); *Lerche, H.,* State Credit for Town and County Communities (Russ. Rev., I, 1912, No. 3, London, 45-8); *J. St. Lewinski,* The Origin of Property, London, Constable, 1913 (cites many Russian authors on Russia); *Machet, J.,* Le Developpement économique de la Russie, Paris, 1902; *A. Manuilov,*

Agrarian Reform in Russia ("Russian Review," I, 1912, 131-49); *P. M. Maslov,* Die Agrarfrage in Russland, Stuttgart, 1899; *Nikolai* (pseud. of *Danielson*), Histoire des développement d'economique de la Russie depuis l'abolition du servage, Paris, 1899; *Ch. Marchal,* Le Socialisme en Russie, Paris, 1860; *Milioukoff,* Essai sur l'histoire de la civilization russe, Paris, 1901; *Nottbeck,* Die betriebstechnischen Nachteile der russischen Feldgemeinschaft, Königsberg, 1901; *I. Ozerov,* The Economic Situation in Russia ("Russian Review," II, 1916, 7-13); *I. I. Petrunkewich, A. A. Manuilov* and *B. Braude,* Zur Agrarbewegung in Russland, Leipzig, Teutonia, 1907, 96 pp.; *F. de Rocca,* Les Assembles dans la Russie ancienne: Semskie Sobors, 1899; *H. Roshoschny,* Russland: Land und Leute, Leipzig, 2 vols., 1882-3; *G. v. Schultze-Gaevernitz,* Volkswirtschaftliche Studien aus Russland, Leipzig, 1899; *M. Sering* (edit.), Russlands Kultur-und Volkswirtschaft, Berlin, Göschen, 1913, VIII+283; *Semenov,* The Emancipation of Peasants, Petrograd, 1889; *W. G. Simkhovitch,* Die Feldgemeinschaft in Russland, Jena, 1898; *J. Ph. Simon,* Russisches Leben, Berlin, 1858, 2 vols.; *Stern,* Geschichte der öffentlichen Sittlichkeit in Russland, Berlin, 1908, 2 vols.; *V. Totomiana,* The Co-operative Movement in Russia ("Russian Review," II, 1916, 131-4); *Tugan-Baranowsky,* Geschichte der russischen Fabrik, Berlin, 1900; *Turner,* Slavisches Familienrecht, Strassburg, 1874; *B. Veselovsky,* History of the Zemstva for 40 years (1864-1904), St. Petersburg, Polovaya, 4 vols., 1909-11; *P. Vinogradoff:* (1) Self-Government, N. Y., Dutton & Co., 1915; (2) The Russian Problem, London, 1914; *Vorchardt,* Die bäuerliche Verhältnisse im südwestlichen und zentralen Russland, Berlin, 1902; *K. A. Wieth-Knudsen,* Bauernfrage und Agrarreform in Russland, Leipzig, Duncker, 1914; *N. Zvornik,* La crise agraire en Russie et sa solution éventuelle, Paris, 1909, 36; *A. v. Haxthausen,* Ländliche Verfassung Russlands, Leipzig, 1866; English edition: The Russian Empire: its people, institutions and resources, London, 1856, 2 vols.; French edition of it is published under the title: Études sur la situation intérieure la vie nationale, et les institutions rurales de la Russie, Hanover, 1847-48, Berlin, 1853, 3 vols. See also: Eine russische Stimme über Gewissen-freiheit, Eisenach, 1871, 2nd edition.

10. As a boy of 10-12 years I remember a Serbian zadruga of 50-60 souls. It was the Zadruga of the family Voykich at Shimanovtzi (Syrmium, Slavonia) where my sister Draga was married. It was a pleasure for me to spend a few weeks with my sister whose Zadruga included about 20 children. Austro-Hungarian Government used all possible means to destroy the moral, national, religious and economic-social spirit of the Zadruga of Serbian provinces in Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

11. *The Statesman's Year-Book for 1914* (London, Macmillan & Co., p. 1283) says: "There is no pauperism in Serbia in the sense in which it is understood in the West; the poorest have some sort of free-hold property. There are a few poor people in Belgrade, but neither their poverty nor their number has necessitated an institution like a workhouse. There is a free town hospital." According to the census of 1897, there were 293,428 country proprietors in Serbia who are divided as follows:

Possessing	Proprietors	%
less than 3 hectars	98,253	33.490
from 3-5	62,622	21.160

Possessing	Proprietors	%
from 5-10	80,822	27.550
from 10-20	40,782	13.920
from 20-60	10,962	3.200
from 60-100	397	0.130
from 100-300	83	0.041
more than 300	3	0.001

12. See also: *Fr. Seebohn:* (1) English Village Community, (Am. Jour. Arch., June, 1880, 424-36); (2) The English Village Community examined in its relations to the manorial and tribal systems, London, Longmans, 1883, XXI+464; *Baden-Powell,* Japanese Village Communities (Quarterly Rev., I, 1896); *G. L. v. Maurer,* Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadtverfassung, Berlin, 1854); *P. Violett,* Bibliothéque de l'École des Chartes, Paris, 1872; *Ch. Letourneau,* Property and Its Origin and Development, London, 1892; *Fustel de Coulanges,* The Origin of Property in Law, London, 1891 (the original is published in *Revues* des Questions Historiques, April, 1889); *Babeau,* Le Village sous l'ancient régime, Paris, 1887, 3rd edition (the *mir* in the eighteenth century); *G. L. Gomme,* The Village Community with special refernce to the origin and form of its survivals in Britain, London, Scott, 1890, 299; *J. Ch. Gosh,* The Village Community of Bengal and Upper India (Calcutta Review, LXXXIV, 1882).

13. His valuable works on the house-communities of the South-Slavs and South-Slavic law generally are well-known. His labors have been made use of by Sir Henry J. Maine.

14. See also two important Serbian works on Serbia and her people: *V. Karich,* Serbia, description of the land, people and state, Belgrade, 1888; *M. G. Milichevich,* The Life of the Serbian Peasants, Belgrade, 1894.

15. See his *Servia: the poor man's paradise,* New York, Longmans & Co., 1897, 300. Compare also: *S. Gopčevich,* Serbien und die Serben, Leipzig, Etischer, 1888, 2. ed., 1891, 492. Russian books on Serbia (S. Cerikover, E. P. Semenkov, Janko Lavrin, P. A. Lavrov, M. P. Cemovich, etc.) and the works of Barré, Hron, Kallay, Loisseau, Marczal, Prezzolini, Vellay, etc. are also good.

16. Jean Dornis, in his book on *Les Frères d'Election* (Paris, 1896) gives very pretty stories, illustrating *pobratimstvo, vilas* and other Slavic customs and legends, but by no means accurate.

17. It is a derisive name for "German." P.R.R.

18. Meaning German peasants.—P.R.R.

19. *F. Demelic:* De la forme dite *Inokosna* de la Famille Rurale chez les Serbes et les Croates, Paris, 1884; (2) Le Droit Coutumier des Slavs Méridionaux d' apres les recherches de M. V. Bogisitsch, Paris, 1877; *M. D. Novakovitch,* La Zadrouga, Paris, 1905 (a thesis for D. J.); *P. Dillon,* Serbia and its peasant properties ("Irish Eccl. Rec." Ser. 4, vol. 14, Dublin 1903, 213-37); *Dopsch,* Die ältere Sozial-Wirtschaftsverfassung der Alplenslawen, Weimar, 1909; *M. Glouchtchevitch,* Le self-gouvernment local en Serbie, Paris, Laros & Tenin, 1911, 244 (a thesis for D. J.); *Ivich,* Die Hauscommunionen, Semlin, 1874; *Janitch, L. A.,* La Serbie au point de vue economique, Paris, 1910; *L. R. Yovanovich,* L' Agriculture en Serbie, Paris, 1900; *Laveleye,* Propriéte Primitive,

Paris, 1880; *M. Markovic,* Die serbische Hauskommunion und ihre Bedeutung in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Leipzig, Duncker & Humbolt, 1903; *R. Millet,* La Serbie économique et commerciale, Paris, 1889; *J. Peritch,* Des communautès de familles (Zadrougas) en droit serbe, Paris, 1912; *Peiskert, J.,* Die serbische Zadruga (Z. f. Social-und Wirtschaftslehre, VII, 1899, 211-326); *Utjesenovic,* Die Hauscommunion der Südslaven, Wien, 1859; *M. Wlainatz,* Die agrarrechtlichen Verhältnisse des mittelalterlichen Serbien, Jena, Fischer, 1905, XV +312; *M. Zoricic,* Die bäuerliche Haus-Communion in das Königreich Kroatien und Slavonien, Budapest, 1897, pp. 21.

20. It is interesting to note that the old Maoris were divided into brotherhoods, or Trbuchs, and in their language this group was called *Hapu,* which means *matrix,* and is in the stomach or womb—terms synonymous in everyday life. The Chinese say *sin* for brotherhood or *Trbuch,* and this term, pronounced according to its ideographic character, is a compound, one half of which means *woman* and the other half *to bear,* which again refers to the womb.

21. The ancient Aryans counted pure kinship to the sixth degree, for all Sapinda (i. e., all members of a family and its head) lived under the same roof, and held common property down to that degree.

22. Compare: *Spiridion Gopchevich,* Montenegro und die Montenegriner, Leipzig, Fries, 1877, X+194.

23. In 1880 Dulcigno is transferred to Montenegro by pressure from the Powers, at the instance of Gladstone. In 1813, British and Montenegrin forces take Cattaro (Kotor) from the French; but Russia agrees with Austria to take and keep it. See: *Bourchier,* Montenegro and her Prince (Fortnightly Revue, Dec., 1898).

24. When, in 1864, The International Association of Workingmen is founded, Bakunin joined it shortly. He spread his ideas in Italy and found a number of branches of the International Association, which is also introduced into Spain. Bakunin became a member of the *Association internationale des travailleurs* in 1868, and soon afterward he found the *Alliance internationale de la démocratic socialiste.* In 1869 he came into close relations with the Russian fanatic Nechayev, but broke away from him in 1870. In 1872 he was expelled from the International Association of Workingmen on the ground that his aims were different from those of the Association.

25. See my review of these two volumes in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* 1912.

26. See also: *J. K. Jiricek,* Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des 13.-15. Jahrhunderts, Wien, Hölder, 1912, 2 vols.; published by the Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 56.

27. Strictly speaking, this Polish *Liberum Veto* was not a law, but a formality sanctioned by custom. Maciejowski and Koronowicz think that it takes its beginning in the most ancient days of Slavdom, and in proof mention a Slavic tribe, by name Lutics, who in the tenth century enjoyed a real democratic form of government and their representative councils would compel unanimity by forcing the minority by blows to accept the will of the assembly. Another Polish author (Bartoszewicz) differs from Maciejowski, maintaining that even if this custom had obtained in pagan Poland, it would have disappeared during the autocratic reigns of

Boleslaws (992-1279). The first exercise of the *Liberum Veto* was made by Sicinski in 1651.

28. The Serbian Empire has fallen for ever, though the Turks permitted rulers, or despots, of Serbia to exercise nominal power for 70 years longer. Many noble families fled to fastnesses of Montenegro, and maintained their faith and freedom from the Ottoman conquerors amid the impenetrable recesses of the Black Mountains. Others immigrated to Hungary and formed those Serb colonies on the banks of the Theiss, from which much later, succor came to Serbia in her struggle for independence. A third body of emigrants found a home in Bosnia, whose rulers had not yet fallen beneath the sway of the all-conquering Turks.

29. There have been other Slavic dynasties like that of the Premyslides in Bohemia, which had its origin in legend and came to an end in 1306.

CHAPTER XX

1. The Austro-Hungarian Consul General in New York published and distributed freely a pamphlet (*Austro-Hungary and the War*, New York, 1915) where this great ruler is called "The Strangler" (p. 23). If the learned authors had looked in the latest eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (vol. XXIV, 1911, p. 691) they might know that "Dushan" is a term of endearment, derived from *dusha*, the "soul" and not as formerly believed by Western philologists, from *dushiti*, to strangle.

2. The *Zakonik* or *Book of Laws* is the earliest specimen of Serbian legislation, and has come down in several manuscripts, being first published by Jovan Raich (1720-1801), in his *History* at the close of the eighteenth century. Since that time other editions have appeared, the two most important those of Miklosich (*Lex Stephen Dushan*, Vienna, 1831-1891) and Stojan Novakovich. M. Popovich gave a Serbian translation of the same Code, which has been edited by F. Palacky in 1849. See Borchgrave's *L'Empereur Étienne Douchan* (Bull. de l'Academie Royaume de Belg., Bruxelles, VIII, 1854).

3. In his "The Kreutzer Sonata" (1889) he denounced the present status of marriage, raising a storm of indignation on both sides of the Atlantic.

4. In 1847 Herzen publishes his *Kto Vinovat?* (*Who is to Blame?*) where he advocates a modification of the marriage laws. In 1863, Chernishevsky attacked current ideas on marriage. The freedom of his opinions soon embroiled him with the Russian Government. He was exiled to Perm, and, seizing the first opportunity which offered itself of passing the Russian frontiers, he spent the remainder of his life chiefly in France and England, and died in Geneva. Artzybashev himself is the author of "The Slave," a violent diatribe against the subjugation of woman by man.

5. This work brought Sienkiewicz greater fame than all his previous efforts—"On a Card" (a drama, 1879), "From the Note-Book of a Posen Teacher," "Hanja," "Yanko the Musician," "The Tartar Bondage" (1880), "With Fire and Sword" (1884).

6. He has left six volumes of poetry, which in many respects remind

which it owes its name—the Chrovats, Chorvats, Horvats and Slavs. Temporary recognition of the Frankish kings, and the Byzantine emperors, was followed by the establishment of a more independent kingdom, which included not only Croatia and Slavonia, but also Dalmatia. In 1075, Zvonimir rejected formally the Byzantine lordship. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the land was the object of frequent contest between the Byzantines, the Venetians and the Hungarians; it was conquered by the Hungarians in 1091, by Venice in 1117 and again by the Byzantines in 1168. Having once more been independent for a century, it was, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, still more harrassed by the rivalry of Hungary with Venice. It was ultimately annexed to Hungary in 1342. In 1524 the whole country fell into the hands of the Turks; but in 1526, after the battle of Mochacs (or Mohach), the districts of Zagreb, Kreutz and Warasdin were attached to the Austrian crown, and by the Karlowitz Peace (1699), the whole country to the north of the River Una was resigned by the Sultan to the Habsburg Dynasty.

5. The severe earthquakes during the sixteenth century, and especially that of 1667, when the town lost one-fifth of its population, put an end to the prosperity of this little Republic. Seized by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1806, it was deprived of its independence in 1808 and awarded to Austria by the Congress of Vienna in 1814. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century Ragusa was a great seat of South Slavic literature.

6. In 1767 the three kingdoms of Kroatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, were united under the name of Illyria, but the union was broken in 1777. Kroatia and Slavonia continued to be regarded as part of the Hungarian kingdom; but a strong national reaction took place in 1848-1849 against the Magyar supremacy, and in reward for the service rendered against the Magyar revolt by the *ban* (a word said to be of Avarian origin; it means governor) Jelachich, Austria declared Kroatia independent of Hungary. In 1860, however, the policy of Vienna was altered, and Kroatia and Slavonia were again obliged, in spite of a strong opposition of a large party, to resume their former connection with Hungary, which was not recognized by the National Diet till 1868 and then only after the central government administration had interfered with the elections in a most arbitrary manner.

7. See Stojan Novakovich's *Die Wiedergeburt des serbischen Staates 1804-1813* (translated from the Serbian into German by Grassl, Sarajevo, 1912).

8. The number of Serbs or Serbo-Kroatians, is more than ten millions, which means that they are numerically a larger nation than, for example, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Magyars, Czechs, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch, or Portuguese. The country of the Serbs, Kroats, and Slovenes is about the size of England, Scotland and Wales.

9. Radishchev depicts here the misery and oppression suffered by the common Russian people, and rebuked their oppressors and exploiters. His book, suppressed by Catherine the Second, was not permitted to be published in Russia till after the revolution in 1905. In 1790 he was arrested, tried and banished to Siberia, thus becoming the first Russian martyr for the offense of attempting to shape public opinion. He was afterwards allowed to return from Siberia, but not till his health had

been permanently injured by his sufferings.

10. In the spirit of these words the Czech historian Palacky declared that the preservation of Austria was a necessity for Europe and his own people. See Palacky's *L'idée de l'état Autrichien*, Paris, 1864.

11. See: *Bogumil Voshnjak*, A bulwark against Germany; the fight of the Slovenes, the western branch of the Jugo-Slavs for national existence, London, Allen & Unwin, 1917, 270.

12. He claims that the Slavs are one nation with different dialects which are nothing more but a single language ("Nach Jahrhunderten betrachten sich die zerstreuten slavischen Stämme als Ein grosses Volk, und ihre verschiedenen Munderten, also Eine Sprache"). A little further speaking about the meaning of the word *wzajemnost* (=Wechselseitigkeit, reciprocity), he says: "Diese Wechselseitigkeit besteht auch nicht in einer Universalisirung oder gewaltsamen Vermischung alter slavischen Dialekte zur einer Hauptsprache und einer schriftstellerischen Hauptmundart, wie einige Slavisten davon zu träumen anfingen" (p. 10).

CHAPTER XXII

1. From *ωᾶs*, pas, "all" and the Slav.

2. He follows here, no doubt, H. St. Chamberlain, the well-known worshipper of Prussianism, and W. von Humboldt, who says that the real fatherland is really the language ("Die wahre Heimat ist eigentlich die Sprache"). It is not a fact that many races have lost their original language (for example, Irish and Jews) and still persist in their racial ideals.

3. Professor V. Jagich in his *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* (X, 1898, p. 30) says that Krizanich Pan-Slavic language was "ein horribiles Gemisch des Russischen mit dem Kroatischen (dem Karlstadt Dialekt)."

4. See also his *Russia as it is*, New York, Appleton, 1854, XVI+312, 2. ed.; *Le panslavisme*, Firenze, 1848.

5. Born of Protestant parents in Slavonia. He studied at Pressburg (Hungary) and Jena (Germany). In 1819 he became a preacher in an Evangelical church in Pesth. After years of efforts, with the help of the Austrian Government he obtained for his native Slovaks from the Magyars the independence of their school in 1820, and the Church in 1833. After continuous annoyances he removed from Pesth to Vienna. Here he was a confidential adviser of the Government, and the Slovaks of Hungary hailed him as their literary spokesman. In 1849 he was appointed professor of Slavic archæology in the University of Vienna, which position he held until his death.

6. Sorrow at separation from a sweetheart of his student life was the immediate stimulus of his first poetic production, *Basne* (Poems, 1821), consisting of 76 sonnets. In 1824 the collection had become 150, published under the title *Slavy Dcera* (Daughter of Slava); the third edition was published in 1832, and the final edition (1851) contained 645 sonnets, divided into five parts. This is a glorification of the Slavic race ("Slava") between whom and his "Mina" his heart is divided. Though uneven in composition, the work in many parts rises to heights of passionate enthusiasm. It was written in Czech with a considerable

admixture of Middle Slovenian peculiarities, which laid the foundation of the present Slovak literary language. In 1837 he published his work *On the Literary Reciprocity among the Various Families and Dialects of the Slavs* (*Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation,* translated from the Czech, Pest, 1837; Leipzig, 1844, 2. ed.), wherein he argued in favor of the Slavic unification which he had proclaimed in his "Daughter of Slava." See also his other works: *Die Göttin Slawa und der Ursprung des Namens Slawen,* Pest, 1839; *Reisebeschreibung,* etc., Pest, 1843 (Prag, 1863); *Das Slawische Altitalien,* W, 1853 (2nd edition, Prag, 1865), etc.

7. In 1847 he visits Russia at the request of Tzar Nickolas and describes its land system. (In 1768, Pallas journeys through Russia and Siberia, as a naturalist on the expedition sent to observe the Transit of Venus, 1769.)

8. She was a German princess (Princess Sophia from tiny Anhalt-Zerbst; she took the name Catherine when she was received into the Russian Orthodox Church on her arrival in Russia), made by marriage a Russian Empress, marking railroads on the map with a pencil and a rule, governing with the power of half a dozen men, changing her favorites every few weeks.

9. Sergius Soloviev in his *History of Russia* (vol. XIV & XVIII), says this about Peter the Great: "Peter is the last and greatest hero. Only Christianity and proximity to our times have saved us (and this only to a certain extent) from a religious worshipping of this demigod, and from mythological recitals about the exploits of this Hercules." . . . He is a hero in the antique sense: he is in modern times the only specimen of those gigantic natures of which we see so many in the misty distance of ages at the foundation and formation of human societies." (His last words were: "I believe, Lord, and confess; help my unbelief.")

10. Catherine the Second freely corresponded with Voltaire, patronized and entertained Diderot, and coaxed D'Alembert to come to Petrograd. Her enthusiasm for French literature as manifested by her prolific imitations of French satirical comedy, her creditable translation of Marmontel's Belisaire, her adoption of Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* as her political guide, etc. She also sent Russian artists and scholars to France that they might absorb, as it were, the very atmosphere of Gallic culture and civilization, while welcoming and encouraging return visits by French savants. Her great love for Gallic culture, literature and learning did not cool until she was awe-stricken by the excesses of the French Revolution, when her sudden apathy (or better to say fear) went so far as to lead her to interdict the publication of any French works in Russia. She was a born autocrat, and no more absolute sovereign has ever set upon the Russian throne. In 1766 deputies from all Russia met to discuss a new code of law for the Empire. Each received a medal with the inscription *For the happiness of all and each.* The instruction from Catherine the Second to the Commission contained the following words: "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation; for citizens equality consists in only having to obey the low; liberty is the right of doing everything that is not forbidden by law; it is better to spare the criminals than to ruin one innocent man." Other

maxims condemn intolerance, religious persecution, and cruel punishments. She wrote to Voltaire: "I think you would be pleased at this assembly, where the Orthodox is seated between the heretic and the Mussulman, listening to the voice of an idolater, and all four are doing their best to make their opinions tolerable to the others." She established a College of Pharmacy at Moscow, and introduced vaccination; she wrote to Voltaire: "We have inoculated more people here in a month than they have at Vienna in a whole year." She also founded boarding-schools for 480 daughters of the nobility and bourgeoisie. (See: *Mémoires de l'Impératrice Catherine II,* London, 1859).

11. See: *Pypin, A. N.,* Die geistigen Bewegungen Russlands in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig, 1894.

12. See also: *P. Kokhanik,* The Austro-German hypocrisy and the Russian Orthodox Greek Orthodox Church, N. Y., 1915, 44; *Palmieri, F. A.,* The United Ruthenian Church of Galicia under Russian rule (Catholic World, N. Y., vol. 103, 349-59); Russian Church-Prayers during the war, London, Mowbray, 1914, 13.

13. He was the author of many valuable monographs on the history of Russia, of which those on "Bogdan Khmelnitzky," and the "False Demetrius" deserve special attention. From 1847-1854, he wrote nothing, having been banished by the Russian Government to Saratov, and forbidden to teach or publish. But after this time his literary activity begins again, and besides separate works, the leading Russian reviews contain many contributions from his pen of the highest value. He died in 1885.

14. The importance of this Karamsin's work lies in the notes copied from documents now lost and its artistic presentation of the subject matter. His chief service is his untiring and successful labors to establish a literary language on the basis of colloquial usage.

15. He was the natural son of a rich Russian nobleman named Yakovlyev, and a Stuttgart lady called Louise Haag. His fancy name he took as a love-token—*Herzen's Kind,* Child of the Heart. Herzen's father did not legalize the marriage in Russia, consequently his children counted as illegitimate, and might not bear their father's name, but were known as Herzen, as their father called their mother.

16. Some of the Russian revolutionists accepted in part the ideals of these Westernists, like N. V. Chaykovsky (b. 1851; father of Russian revolutionary movement), Radishchev, Prince Peter Kropotkin, Pugachev, Nechayev, Tkachev, etc. In 1817 a Secret Society has been founded to obtain constitutional government. Among its members are many republicans.

17. This high-minded and energetic man, a spirited writer, N. Novikov (1744-1818), who, after having worked hard as a journalist, and done much for education in Russia, fell under the suspicion of the Russian Government, and was imprisoned in the Schlüsselburg Fortress by Catherine II. On her death he was released by her successor, the Tzar Paul (1796-1801). But the short reign of this Tzar was not favorable to cultural and literary work; the censorship of the press was extremely severe, and many foreign books were excluded from Russia. Authors and lovers of literature were liable to get into trouble, as it is seen by the experiences of the poet Kotzebue and pastor Seidler.—P.R.R.

18. Translated into English ("Grand Instructions," London, no date);

edited by Michael Tatishev.—P.R.R.

19. He is the author of "Pestel's Hymn." He was a brave man who loved liberty, and desired to establish it upon the ruins of Russian absolutism. "Stupid country, where they do not even know how to hang"—these words were spoken when the rope broke by which he was to be hanged.—P.R.R.

20. See Count Leo Tolstoy's *The Decembrists* (published in fragments in 1863-1878).—P.R.R.

21. Count Zygmunt Krasinski (1812-59), in his dramatic poem "Irydion" (Paris, 1836) and other works expressed his belief in the regeneration of the world through his country, of whose ultimate restoration he felt sure.

22. In 1832 he published the first poem entitled *Orel* (*Eagle*), in which he sung the brotherhood of the Slavs. In 1860 he sent a greeting from Moscow to the Serbs.

23. In 1780 the Czech language is expelled from the schools, and a great patriotic revival begins to which Dobrovsky's *Commentaries on Bohemian Literature* contribute. In 1783 Joseph the Second enforces the German language, suppresses the permanent Committee of the Diet, and transfers its authority to the central government, leaving the Estates the right to vote the taxes. These measures to lead to the growth of a nationalistic movement among the Czechs and other Slavs in Austro-Hungary.

24. In 1846 a revolt of the peasants in Galizia takes place, and the republic of Cracow is annexed by Austria, in violation of the Treaty of Vienna.

25. In 1848, the King of Prussia promises (1) a free press, (2) a *Landtag* and (3) the formation of a closer German Federation (March 9). The populace demands also the dismissal of the soldiers; and, after a fierce fight in Berlin, the King Frederick William the Fourth (1840-1861) orders troops to withdraw, dismisses the ministry, and amnesties political prisoners. A National Assembly meets the almost republican Left led by Waldeck and Jacoby, the Left Centre by Rodbertus and Schultze-Delitzsch, the Centre by Unruh, and the Right by Bismarck (May). The Assembly, however, is dissolved (Dec.), and a new Constitution is issued with two Chambers chosen by indirect election. Baden grants a liberal Constitution (March), and is followed by Bavaria, where Louis abdicates, and by Saxony and Hanover. The Liberal leaders meet at Heidelberg (March), and invite past and present members of constitutional assemblies to a *Vorparlament*, which meets at Frankfort, and decrees a federal Parliament with a single head and two Chambers. The Parliament opens at Frankfort, with Gagern as President (May). Blum contends for a federal republic; Dahlmann, Gervinus, E. Arndt, Jacob Grimm demand a constitutional Empire under the King of Prussia. The Assembly discusses and publishes the Fundamental Rights of the German People. In the same year King Christian VIIIth, of Denmark (1839-1848) dies, and Frederick VIIth issued a liberal Constitution. When the news of the German revolution arrives, Schleswig and Holstein demand admission to the *Bund*, and a joint Constitution on the German model. A provisional government is formed under the Duke of Augustenburg. Frederick sends an army against the Duchies, which obtain help from Prussia. In Austria the populace of Vienna demand the

fall of Metternich, who escapes to England (March, 1848). The Emperor Ferdinand the First (1835-1848) promises a Constitution, and appoints Deak, Batthyany and Lajos Kossuth ministers for Hungary. They abolish feudalism, introduce responsible government, and extend the franchise. Jelachich tells the Croats that if Hungary becomes independent, she will oppress them. They therefore induce the Emperor to make Jelachich Ban or Governor-General of Kroatia and Slavonia. [This idol of the Serbo-Kroats was proclaimed dictator and supported by the Kroatian Diet at Zagreb (Agram) and the Serbian assembly at Sremski Karlovci (Karlowitz). The Serbian Patriarch at Karlowitz, Rajachich, and the young and gifted Stratimirovich, provisional administrator of the *Serbian Vojvodina,* attended the Kroation Diet and the High Mass where Kroatian Roman Catholic Bishop Ozhegovich sang the *Te Deum* in Old Slavic (Church) language.] The Magyars repulse Jelachich's troops, and Kossuth organizes a riot in Vienna to prevent the departure of reinforcements. Emperor Ferdinand flees (in May), but Jelachich marches to Vienna, and saves the Habsburg dynasty. (See: M. Hartley's *The Man who Saved Austria,* L, Mills & Boon, 1898.) A Constituent Assembly meets, and the Emperor returns. Jelachich and Windischgrätz open the campaign against the Hungarians. Another insurrection breaks out in Vienna, and the Emperor Ferdinand again flees (Oct.). The capital is retaken, Schwarzenberg forms a reactionary ministry, and Ferdinand Ist abdicates in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph the First (1848-1916). In the same year Prussia and Austria crush revolts in Warsaw and Cracow; Neufchâtel (Switzerland) throws off allegiance to the King of Prussia; Thorbecke (Holland) obtains a liberal Constitution; in Switzerland a National Council and a Council of Estates, with a federal executive appointed by them, and a federal court are created; etc.

26. In 1849 a Constitution is granted to Austria, "by the Grace of the Emperor." Hungarian independence is proclaimed, and Lájos Kossuth becomes the head of the Provisional Government (April). Bem and Görgei repulse Austria, which appeals to Russia. The Hungarians are defeated at Temesvar, Kossuth resigns and Görgie capitulates at Vilagos (Aug.). Batthanyi is shot, and Szechenyi, Kossuth and Bem take refuge in Turkey, which, supported by England and France, refuses to surrender them. Hungary is deprived of all constitutional rights. See: *Ch. M. Andrews,* The Historical Development of Modern Europe from the Congress of Vienna to the Present Time, 1815-1897, N. Y., Putnam, 1906, 2 vols.; *Ch. Seignobos,* A political history of Europe since 1814, N. Y., Holt, 1900, 881.

27. The German-inspired treatment of the Poles was the fatal blunder of the Romanovs. Of 12 millions Polish Roman Catholics, the most were in Russian Poland. Religious intolerance prevailed over tribal affinity.

28. V. R. Savich, in his *The Reconstruction of South-Eastern Europe* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1917, p. 260-261) mentions a little accident at the end of this Congress, an accident which slightly marred the good impression created by the proceedings. He says that "at the final banquet to delegates a Russian speaker proposed that a resolution should be passed to the effect that all delegates expressed the wish that the Russian language be accepted as the literary language of all Slav na-

tions, and that henceforward they would all print their books in the Russian language. The Czech delegate, Dr. Rieger, declared that that was a large question, which could not be decided by a resolution, that it necessitated mature thought and meeting of all the educated classes in different Slav nations. The Bulgarian delegates enthusiastically accepted the proposition, declaring, in the name of Bulgaria, that they would be delighted to accept Russian for their literary language. But the Serbian delegate, Mr. Vladan Georgevich, stated categorically that he was sure Serbians would never accept that proposition, as they considered literature to be the means for the political, scientific, and moral progress of the people, a task which could only be achieved by writing books in the national idioms." No doubt, every intelligent Slav ought to know Russian, which is spoken not only by 110 millions of Slavic Russians, but also by millions of other people. Which of the Slavic languages ought to be used as the diplomatic, scientific or literary dialect must be decided by merit. However, all Slavic languages are more or less in the process of evolution.

29. See: *Eisenmann*, Le compromis Austro Hongrois de 1867, Paris, 1880; *Horn, M. G.*, Le Compromise de 1868 entre Hongrie et le Croatie, Paris, 1907. On the advice of Beust, and with the aid of Deak, responsible government is granted to Hungary. An *Ausgleich* (*Nagoda* in Slavic; the Compromise) of 1868 arranges the quota of the national debt, the tariff, etc., for ten years. The Austrian Emperor is crowned King of Hungary. The common affairs of Austria and Hungary are settled by the delegations, chosen by the two Houses, re-elected annually and meeting alternately in Pesth and Vienna. Foreign and military affairs and finance are controlled by joint ministers.

30. See my article concerning this annexation in the *New York Evening Post* (Dec. 8, 1908). All authors agree that the most important measure passed by the Congress of Berlin (June 13, 1878) was the mandate granted to Austria on the principle of England (by Benjamin Disraeli, Prime Minister of England) for the occupation and administration of the Serbian provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was effected only after a bloody struggle. This was Austrian reward for helping Disraeli to nullify the treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878), in other matters. (Disraeli was responsible that the Congress of Berlin called in order to rob Russia of the fruits of her victory over the Turks.) The natives of the two provinces (Serbs) were bitterly opposed to Austrian dominion. When Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied, the Croatian Bishop, Dr. Juraj Strossmayer, said: "If Vienna or rather Budapest means to govern the new provinces by Hungarians or Germans and for their profit, the Austrians will end by being more hated than the Turks." And this is precisely what has happened. The resentment of the native population of Bosnia and Herzegovina showed itself in June 28, 1914, when the Crown Prince of Austro-Hungary, Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated by a youthful Serb (Gabriel Princip; this patriotic boy who "started the war," died recently in the fortress prison of Theresienstadt, Prague) from Bosnia, a student, whose grief over the oppressed and stifled country of his birth had driven him to hysteria. This deed precipitated the World War. Gladstone said in 1878 that it was Disraeli's hatred of Russia on account of her antisemitic policies, rather than loyalty to England, that dictated

his course in Berlin. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that he is responsible for this World War.

31. The Bulgarians have, unfortunately, a strain of Mongol in their composition and more than a strain of Imperialism in their aims. It is rightly said, that Bulgaria, in her ingratitude to her Slavic savior (Russia) and her betrayal of Slavism, is *the Judas of the Slavic Race.* Russia made Bulgaria an independent state, but with her German rulers, she made many anti-Slavic errors. In 1881, Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria, suspends the Constitution and makes a Russian general his premier. In 1883 he restores the Constitution, and the Russian ministers resign. (A Russian plot to kidnap the Prince is discovered). In 1885, Eastern Rumelia throws off the Turkish yoke, "joins" Bulgaria, and is "accepted" by Prince Alexander. Serbia then invades Bulgaria and is repulsed. Austria threatens to "join" Serbia, and Prince Alexander, therefore, makes peace with Serbia. He is kidnapped by Russian agents, but restored by Stambulov, but he is so unnerved by a letter from the Tzar disapproving his return that he abdicates in 1886. In 1887, Ferdinand of Coburg is induced to accept the Crown of Bulgaria, but it is not recognized by Russia and Germany. Stambulov became Prime Minister. In 1894 Prince Boris (elder son of Ferdinand) is baptized in the Eastern Greek Church, and Stambulov is dismissed, Ferdinand hoping thereby to conciliate Russia. . . . Then the World War began in the Balkans, Bulgaria joins the arch-enemies of the Slavs—Germans and Turks. And this war must again end in the Balkans. Without a United States of South-Slavs there seems to be no Balkan peace.

32. There is a large Slavic literature on Panslavism which is not mentioned here. Most prominent contributions are those of N. Byelozersky (1905), M. Chadrov (1905), A. S. Budilovich (1871), Count V. Bobrinski (1909), M. P. Dragomirov (1881, 1876), Mikulas Kwelow (18-?), K. N. Leontyev (1912), A. M. Lukyanenko (1913), A. A. Maikov (1871), L. Niederle (1909), A. L. Pogodin (1909), A. N. Pypin (1893, 1913), A. Selishchev (1913), S. Sharpov (1909), A. A. Sidorov (1908), A. N. Shtiglich (1907), S. A. Vengerov (1912), V. F. Zalyeski (1911), Yuryev (1871), etc. The South-Slavic Union is discussed by many Slavic historians, political writers and journalists, such as Josef Apih (1888), L. V. Berezin (1879), R. Horvat (1906), G. Ilynsky (1909), V. Klaich (1899), Lj. Kovachevich & Lj. Jovanovich (1893), T. Kulakovsky (1894), Lončar (1909), Milan Marjanovich (1903-4), Jovan Ristich (1896-8), Tad. Smičiklas, S. Stanojevich (1908), Bog. Vošnjak (1906), etc.

33. The Americans are favorites in all Slavic lands, especially in Russia, which is in turn admired openly by many great American citizens. In his poem *America to Russia,* Oliver W. Holmes sings:

"When darkness hid the starry skies
In war's long winter night,
One ray still cheered our straining eyes,
The far-off Northern light.

And now the friendly rays return
From lights that glow afar,
Those clustered lamps of Heaven that burn
Around the Western star."

A. C. Swinburne, in his *A Litany of Nations* (1868) sings to Russia:

> I am she whose hands are strong and her eyes blinded
> And lips athirst,
> Till upon the night of nations many-minded
> One bright day burst.

34. See also his: *Russland und Europa*, Jena, Diederich, 1913.

35. See also: *Bresnitz von Sydacoff* (Philipp Franz), Die panslavistische Agitation und die südslavische Bewegung in Österreich-Ungarn, Berlin, Luckhardt, 1899, 127; *Th. Capek*, The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Pan-Slavism, New York, 1906, XVI+214; *Denis*, Panslavisme (Monde Slave, Paris, 1917); *Dolgoroukoff*, La vérité sur la Russie, Paris, 1860; *J. von Dorneth*, Die Herrschaft des Panslavismus ("Preussische Jahrbücher," Berlin, vol. 1898, 136-52); *Gerebtsoff*, Histoire de la Civilization en Russie, Paris, 1858, 2 vols.; *Foulke, w. D.*, Slav or Saxon? A study of the growth and tendencies of Russian civilization, New York, Putnam, 1887, IX+210; *G. Ghikas*, Botschafter von Novikow über den Panslavismus und die orientalische Frage, Wien, Stern, 1907, 78; *Haumant*, La culture française en Russie, Paris, 1910; *Häusler*, Der Panslavismus, Berlin, 1886; *K. Hron, Abrüstung*, Panslavismus und Deutschtum, Wien, Schalk, 1898, 119; *K. Kalal*, Die Unterdrückung der Slovaken durch die Magyaren, Prag, 1903, 76; *Lichard, M. & Kolisek, A.*, Life Story of a Hungarian Peon (Independent, v. 63, 1907, 557-64); *Count V. S. Krasinski*, Pan-Slavismus und Germanismus, Berlin, 1865; *L. P. M. Leger:* (1) Études Slaves: 1re series, Essai sur Kollar; 2e series, Essai sur Krijanich, et Russes et Slaves; Paris, 2. ed., 1897, XXII+344; (2) Souvenirs d'un Slavophile (1863-1897), Paris, 1905, 314; (3) Le Panslavisme et l'Intérêt français, Paris, Flammarion, 1918; *Levine, L.*, Pan-Slavism and European Politics, N. Y., Putnam, 1917; *A. Leroy-Beaulieu*, Politique russe et panslavisme (Revue des Deux Mondes, Dec. 13, 1876); *J. W. Mackail*, Russia's Gift to the World (a pamphlet, L. Hodder & Co., 1915, 48); *C. Malisz*, Der Slaven-Kongress und die neueste Ereignisse in Prag, Mannheim, 1848, 20 pp.; *I. de Malkhazoutny*, Le Panslavisme et la question d' Orient. Essai sur l'origine et l'établissement des Slaves méridionaux dans la péninsule illyrique. La Russie et la question des Détroites, Serbie, Bulgarie, Montenégro, Macédonie, l'avenir de la presqu'île balkanique. Paris, Fechos & Cie., 1898, 103; *Novikoff*, Skobeleff and the Slavic Case, London, 1854; *I. Ozieduszycki*, Der Patriotismus in Polen, Cracow, 1884; *J. Perwolf*, Die Idee der Gegenseitigkeit bei der slawischen Völkern, Prag, 1864; *Philharmonios*, Les Destinées de la Russie au point de vue nationaliste (Rev. pol. et parlem., vol. 21, 1899, 274-99); *Pingaud*, Les Français en Russie, Paris, 1884; *K. P. Pobiedonostsev*, Reflections of a Russian Statesman, London, 1898; *A. N., Pypin:* (1) Der Panslavismus ("Russische Revue," XIV, 1879, 385-415, 526-48); (2) Die russische Slawophilen im vierten bis zum sechsten Jahrzehnte dieses Jahrhunderts (Ibid., II, 1873, 45-55, 160-75, 261-86); (3) Die polnische Frage in der Literatur der russischen Slawophilen (Ibid., XVII, 1880, 193-224); *A. S. Rappoport*, Pangermanismus versus Panslavismus ("Nineteenth Century," August, 1913); *A. D. Rees*, An Interpretation of Slavophilism ("Scientific Monthly," I, 1915, 47-55); *Robert, C.*, Le Monde Slave: son passé, son état present, Paris, 1852; *Th. Schiemann*,

Eine russische Denkschrift aus dem Jahre 1859 oder 1860 über die Nationalitäten im Österreich und dem Slavismus ("Zeitschrift für osteurop. Geschichte," II, 1912, 247-54); *R. Sembratowycz,* Das Zarentum im Kampfe mit der Zivilization, Wien, Stern, 1905, 56; *R. W. Seton-Watson,* German, Slav and Magyar, London, 1916; *P. Stade,* Breslau: ein Schutzwall gegen das Slaventhum, Hamburg, Verlagsanstalt & Druckerei, A. G., 1895, 36); *L. N. Tolstoy,* Patriotism and Christianity, London, Reeves, 1897, 54; or *Complete Works of Tolstoy,* vol. XXIII, p. 538, edited by Prof. Leo Wiener, 1904; *P. Vinogradoff,* The Slavophile Creed (Hibbert Journal, XIII, 1915, 243-60); *R. Vrba,* Russland und der Panslavismus: statistische und sozial-politische Studien, Prag, Selbstverlag, 1913, 2 vols.; *A. White,* A Statesman of Russia: C. Pobedonostzeff (*The Cent. Mag.,* May-Oct., 1898, 110-8); *A. Wirth,* Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr, Berlin, Gose, 1905, 34; K. Kamelins und J. Turgenjevs Sozialpolitischer Briefwechsel mit Alexander I. Herzen ("Bibliothek russischer Denkwürdigkeiten," Stuttgart, vol. IV, 1894); Die Anfänge der slavischen Bewegung in Österreich-Ungarn ("Deutsche Rundschau," vol. 99, 1899, 309-13); Czechen in Preussisch-Oberschlesien: Die Stimme eines Rufenden aus Preussisch-Oberschlesien—Von einem Slaven, Prag, Urbanek, 1875, 18; Ältere and neuere Magyarisirungs-versuche im Ungarn, auf besonderer Rücksicht auf die Slovaken, Prag, Urbanek, 1876, 113.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Nogai are a small Tartaric people, living in the Caucasus near the Caspian Sea and formerly in the Crimea, in southern Russia. A branch of Nogai Tartars are Noruz.

2. *I. Efremov,* The Don Cossacks (Russian Rev., III, 1914, 116-21); *M. Hruszewski,* Geschichte des Ukrainischen Volkes, Leipzig, 1906; *Beauplan, S. D.,* Description d'Ukraine, Rouen, 1660, 112; *E. Tschepourkowsky,* Zwei Haupttypen der Grossrussen (Kow. Blatt d. d. Ges. f. Anthr., XLI, 1910, 9-12); *P. Tschubinsky,* Kurze Characterstik der Kleinrussen (Russ. Rev., VIII, 1898, 361-78).

3. See also: *H. Wild:* (1) Temperatur-Verhältnisse des Russischen Reiches, Berlin, 1881; (2) Die Regens-verhältnisse des russischen Reiches, St. Petersburg, 1887; *Weikoff, A.,* Meteorology in Russia (Smithsonian Report for 1872, Washington, 1873, 267-98); *W. Köppen,* Über die Bevölkerung in Russland ("Russische Revue," 1882, 244-81); *Wittenheim,* Über Russlands Wasserverbindungen, Mitau & Leipzig, 1842; Zur Pflege der Statistik in Russland (Russ. Rev., XIX, 1881, 227-43).

4. Professor Karl Penka represents the theory that the influence of climate has exterminated the Aryan or Indo-European race in India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Spain, France and Southern Germany, the Aryan speech alone being left as the permanent effect of early Aryan conquest. He believes that the fair race holds the Baltic lands, the brown race the shores of the Mediterranean, and black race holds the tropics. According to him, the fair races succeed only in the temperate zones, and the dark races only in the tropical and subtropical lands, for as a rule, he says, it is found that Northern races die out if transplanted to the South, and the Southern races become extinct in the North—intrusive

conquest or colonization has left little or no trace.

5. From Latin *sui* (of oneself), and *cidium*, "a killing," from *caedere* (to kill).

6. See: *E. Durkeim*, Le Suicide, Paris, 1897; *Rehfish*, Der Selbstmord, Berlin, 1905; *G. Kennan*, The problems of suicide (Nineteenth Century, 1909, 218-229); *A. Legoyt*, Le suicide ancien et moderne, P, 1881; *E. Motta*, Bibliografia del suicido, Bellinzona, 1890; *A. K. Strahan*, Suicide and Insanity: A Physiological and Sociological Study, L, 1893; *H. Rost*, Der Selbstmord, Köln, 1905; *Gaultier*, Les maladies sociales, Paris, 1913; *Médeville*, Le suicide en droit pènal, Bordeaux, 1911; *Pfeiffer*, Über den Selbstmord, Jena, Fischer, 1912; *K. A. Geier*, Der Selbstmord, Leipzig, 1904.

7. See also: *Bovis*, Caractéres de Scythes et caractéres de Slavs (Trav. de l'Acad. Matt. de Reims, vol. 117, 1904-5, Reims, 1908, 143-60); *Chervin, A.*, L'Austriche et la Hongrie de demain: Les différentes nationalités d'après les langues parlées avec des nombres tableaux statistique et cartes ethnographique, Paris & Nancy, 1915, 169; *E. Christich*, The soul of the southern Slav (Fortnightly Review, vol. 96, 1914, 643-52); *A. Fouilée*, Psychologie du peuple Russe (Rev. pol. et litt. Rev. Bleue, XVIII, 1902, 481-7); *Ganz, H.*, The Land of Riddles, New York, 1904; *A. W. Hupfel*, Über den Nationalcharakter der Russen, Riga, Hartnoch, 1781, 231; *A. I. Kuprin*, A Slav Soul, London, Constable, 1916, XII+235; *D. Lacrois*, Les mystéres de la Russie, Paris, 1845; *E. B. Lanin* (pseudonym of E. J. Dillon), Russian Characteristics, London, Chapman & Hall, 1892; *M. and A. Lethbridge*, The Soul of Russia, New York, Lane, 1916; *R. Lyall*, The Character of the Russians, London, Cadell, 1823; *J. A. Novicow:* (1) The Russian People (in Raubaud's The Expansion of Russia, N. Y., 1904); (2) The Russian people: a psychological study ("Intern. Monthly," III, 1901, 359-410); *A. S. Rappoport:* (1) The psychology of the Russian nation (Monthly Rev., London, XIX, 1905, 13-21); (2) Home Life in Russia, N. Y., Macmillan, 1913, X+207; *A. Sikorsky*, Quelques traits de la psychologie des Slaves (Rev. philosophique, vol. 45, 1898, 625-35); The Slav: His splendor, his misery, and his place among the nations of to-morrow ("Craftsman," vol. 27, 1914, 135-44, 244); *de Rechberg*, Les peuples de la Russie, Paris, 1812-3, 2 vols.; *Schmidt*, Bilder aus den geistigen Leber unserer Zeit, Leipzig, 1875; *N. T. Stead*, The Arrival of the Slav ("Contemporary Rev," 1909); *Stephen, W.*, (Edit.) The soul of Russia, London, Macmillan, 1916, XVI+307; *A. F. Rittich*, Die Ethnographie Russlands (Petermann's Mitteilungen Ergänzungsheft, Gothen, vol. 54, 1878); *N. Velimirovich:* (1) The Soul of Serbia, London, 1906; (2) Serbia in Light and Darkness, London, Longmans, 1916; *T. V. von Trol*, Aus der slawischen Welt, Leipzig, Lis, 1902, 2 vols.; *Lubor Niederle:* (1) La Race Slave: statistique, démographie, anthropologie, Paris, Mulo, 1910; (2) Geographical and Statistical View of the Contemporary Slav Peoples (Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1910, pp. 599-612); *J. M. N. Brodhead*, Slav and Moslem, Aiken, S. C., 1893; *W. F. Bailey*, The Slavs of the War Zone, London, Chapman, 1916; *S. V. Geiman*, Ethnography in Russia ("Russ. Rev., II, 1916, 153-9); Russland oder Sitten der Bewohner der sämtlichen Provinzen dieses Reichs, Stuttgart, 1828; *L. Leger:* (1) Les Slaves au XIXe siècle, Paris, Hérissey, 1894; (2) Contes Slaves, Paris, Leroux, 1902; (3) Le Monde Slave, Paris, Hachette, 1897, XXII+344; *R. W.*

Child, Potential Russia, New York, Dutton, 1916; *J. A. Atkinson and J. Walker,* A picturesque representation of the manners, customs, and amusements of the Russians, etc., London, Bulmer, 1803-4, 3 vols.; *R. Reynolds,* My Slav friends, New York, Dutton, 1916; *A. Leroy-Beaulieu,* Un homme d'état russe ("Rev. des Deux Mondes," Oct., 1880); *P. Leroy-Beaulieu,* La Rénovation de l'Asie (Sibérie, Chine, Japan), Paris, Colin, 1900, XXVI+482; *B. Parez,* Russia and Reform, London, 1907, XIV+576; *Baron Haxthausen,* Studien über die inneren Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einreichtungen Russlands, Hannover, 3 vols., 1852-4; *V. O. Kluchevsky,* A History of Russia, London, Dent, 1911, 3 vols., (373+912+326); *H. W. Williams,* Russia of the Russians, London, 1914; *W. K. Kelly,* History of Russia, London, 1854, 2 vols.; *P. N. Milyukov:* (1) Russia and its crisis, Chicago, 1910, XIV+588; (2) The Chief Currents of Russian Historical Thought ("Amer. Hist. Asso. Annual Report for 1904, Washington, 1905"); (3) Essai sur l'histoire de la civilization russe, Paris, 1903; (4) Constitutional Government for Russia (The Civic Forum, N. Y., 1908, 32); *P. Vinogradov:* (1) Russia and the present war: the psychology of a nation ("Educ. Rev.," vol. 48, 1914, 332-46); (2) Russia: the psychology of a nation (Oxford Pamphlets, III, 12, 1915); (3) Russian problem (Yale Rev., IV, 1915, 267-82); (4) The Russian Problem, London, Constable, 1914, VIII+44; *Turgenyev,* Le Russie et les Russes, Paris, 1858, 3 vols. See also Encyclopædia Britannica, Catholic Encyclopædia, New International Encyclopædia, and German, French, Italian, Spanish and Slavic (Russian, Polish and Czech) Cyclopædias.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. See: *I. V. Bubnoff,* The Co-operative Movement in Russia: its history, significance, and character, Manchester, Coöperative Printing Society, 1917, 162. There is a Russian paper (*The Russian Co-operative*) published in English (London, 83 Finsbury Pavement) dealing with the Russian co-operative movement in theory and practice. See also: *G. Cohn,* Gemeinschaft und Hausgenossenschaft, Stuttgart, 1898; *Haxthausen,* Étude sur les Institutions National de la Russie, Paris, 1847-53, 3 vols. (it is a translation from the German, and famous for the description of the Russian *Mir*); *Koussler,* Zur Geschichte und Kritik des bäuerlichen Grundbesitzes in Russland, Berlin, 1876-82, 3 vols.; *Anat. Leroy-Beaulie,* Un Homme d'État Russe, Paris, 1884 (it is a study of Milutine and the drafting of the emancipation project); *M. Markovich,* Die serbische Hauskommunion und ihre Bedeutung in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Leipzig, 1903; *St. Novakovich,* On the Zadruga (Proceedings of the Serbian Academy, Belgrade, vol. XXIV); *J. Peisker:* (1) Die serbische Zadruga, Graz, 1896-1900; (2) Zur Geschichte der slavischen Pfluges, Graz, 1896; (3) Die Alt-slovenische Zupa, Graz, 1900 (all in his *Forschungen* zur Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Slaven, Graz, 1896-1900); (4) Die älteren Beziehungen der Slaven zur Turko-Tartaren und Germanen und ihre sozial-geschichtliche Bedeutung, Stuttgart, 1905; *O. M. Utiesenovich,* Die Hauskommunion der Südslaven, Wien, 1859; *P. G. Vinogradoff,* Self-government in Russia, London,

Constable, 1915, 118; *V. Bogishich:* (1) Le Droit Coutumier des Slaves Méridionaux d'après le recherches de M. V. Bogishich (Rev. de legislation ancienne et moderne, Paris, 1876); (2) Compilation of Legal Usages among the South Slaves, London, 1874; *V. S. Yarros,* The Essential Democracy of Russia (*Intern. Journal of Ethics,* XXVII, No. 4, July, 1917); *J. M. Zujovic,* Sur l'agriculture et les paysans en Serbie, Paris, 1917, 24; *K. Stojanovich,* État économique de la Serbie, Belgrade, 1909; *Milorad Zebich,* La Serbie agricole et sa démocratie, Paris, 1917.

2. See for example, *Holme, Ch.,* Peasant Art in Russia (London and N. Y., "The Studio," 1912, pp. 53+86 pl. illustr.).

3. Prince Wolkonsky, however, rightly says that it would be "injustice and ingratitude to extend this judgment to the respective works of men of science or travellers and explorers who devoted many years of their lives to the study of the history, literature, and institutions of the Russian country, such as Ralston, Mackenzie Wallace, Leroy-Beaulieu, Rambaud and others." Wallace's *Russia* is admitted by all the Russians to be much the best book written by an Englishman on their country. O. M. Kartochinsky, in the September number of the (New York) *Russian Review* (1916) shows clearly that so far as nations are concerned, mystery shrouds nothing but ignorance. If some foreign people persist in calling Russia a land of mystery it is because they have to hide their total lack of knowledge concerning Russia. To quote Kartochinsky:

"Until very recently Russia was regarded in almost all the civilised countries of the world as a land in which one should always seek for defects, for definitely negative tendencies. It is true that wherever in the world there exists a feeling for the beautiful Russian literature was recognized, and due homage was paid to such writers as Turgeniev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky. Still more recently Russian art has received widespread and general recognition. But this did not change the general opinion about Russia; on the contrary, it seemed to accentuate it.

"It seemed that everybody conceded Russia enormous hidden possibilities. Russian literature was taken to be a striking proof of this. But at the same time the prevailing conviction was that Russia is destined to lack a civilization that would permeate the whole life of the country.

"There was not a horror, not a nightmare that was not ascribed to Russia. And it must be admitted that Russian life often served to strengthen this view. People were interested in Russia, but they never went to the trouble of studying her. The ridiculous ideas of wolves and bears running loose through the streets of Russia's capital dominated for a long time the impression that foreign travellers formed of Russia. Even after 1905, when the creation of the Duma placed Russia in the same class politically as the rest of Europe, the world still continued to look on Russia as on a backward, almost a half Asiatic, country.

"It was the great European war that wrought a miracle in the attitude of the whole civilized world toward Russia. Wrapped in the flames of war, Russia to-day suddenly appeared in a new light before the eyes of the world; and now she stands before the world a mighty nation, full of magnificent courage, fully conscious of her great duty before modern civilization. The whole world has suddenly come to a realization of the fact that Russia must be studied, not merely regarded with idle curiosity.

"The first step in this direction was taken by Russia's most powerful ally, England. And this is especially flattering to Russia, because before

the war there was scarcely a country where she was less understood than in England. The Anglo-Saxon mind, direct, logical, completely imbued with the recognition of human individuality, simply refused to understand what appeared to be a conglomeration of contradictory and often absurd phenomena which is called the life of Russia.

"What was perfectly certain to the British mind was that Russia had not yet come to a recognition of human individuality, and that was sufficient reason for the Englishman to look down upon Russia. At the same time the best of English society was always in sympathy with progressive movements in Russia. No country with the exception of the United States has ever proved to be such a hospitable haven for Russian political exiles as England. 'The Society for Russian Freedom,' whose membership consisted of some of the best men in England, always did everything in its power to aid these exiles, and the radical circles of Russia appreciated this and the beneficence of the British political institutions.

"Yet despite all this England did not know Russia. And it was not until the war that she recognized the need of knowing her and began to make up for lost time. On March 10, 1915, at the Speaker's house in Westminster the first meeting of the Russia Society took place. The new society promises to do for Englishmen what has not been done heretofore, viz., aid them in acquiring a knowledge of Russia.

"The president of the Russia Society is the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon. James W. Lowther, while its honorary secretary is James A. Malcolm. During the first year the membership of the society reached 700.

"The first lecture of the society was given in October, 1915, and it was very successful. Sir Edward Grey, who was invited as one of the guests of honor, was unable to attend the lecture, but he sent the following interesting letter:

"'DEAR MR. MALCOLM: I should have much liked to have attended the first lecture of the Russia Society, but I fear that the pressure of the Foreign Office and other work renders it quite impossible for me to do so. I am glad to hear of the progress which the society is making and I much appreciate the value of the work it is doing in strengthening the bonds which already so happily unite the peoples of Great Britain and Russia. The greater our knowledge of Russia becomes, the more our admiration for her increases. I wish the lecture all success. Yours sincerely, E. GREY.'

"Basing its activities on the contention that 'a permanent understanding between Russia and England means permanent peace of the world,' the Russia Society is doing everything in its power to spread knowledge about Russia, to make clear Russia's character, its peculiarities, its customs. A great deal of attention is paid to the study of the Russian language, and it is stated that because of the Russia Society over two thousand Englishmen have learned the Russian language.

"It is interesting in this connection, that there is the following characteristic paragraph in the statement of the purpose of the Russia Society: 'The society will not directly concern itself in the development of commerce and finance between the two empires.' It is evident that the society prefers to leave the practical problems of the economic re-

lations between the two countries in the hands of the various chambers of commerce and similar bodies, reserving for itself the task of bringing about an intellectual rapprochement between Russia and England.

"It would be well if other countries could follow England's example. The United States already has an agency that works toward bringing about closer economic relations between America and Russia. It is the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, 'organized to encourage and promote a closer union in industry, commerce and finance and to create bonds of mutual sympathy and friendship between the two great nations, Russia and the United States.'

"The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce was organized in January, 1916, and Mr. Charles H. Boynton is its president. Its object, as we have seen, is twofold, viz., to do business with Russia and to know Russia. And it contends that 'to be close to Russia, to do business with Russia, means first of all to understand, to know Russia.'

"Necessarily, the present activities of the chamber are directed toward the establishment of economic ties with Russia. Working in co-operation with the Moscow Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, the New York chamber is doing valuable work in assisting American business men by providing them with practical and theoretical information about the Russian market. But its second purpose remains unaccomplished.

"There is no doubt that economic information about Russia is necessary, but there seems to be also little doubt that it is intellectual relations that can serve as a foundation for real intellectual friendship. The experience of the Russia Society ought to prove valuable. There is need of a similar society in the United States, for it is difficult for one organization to accomplish two purposes the accomplishment of each of which requires considerable effort. Perhaps the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce possesses sufficient resources to accomplish both of its purposes in the future; but even if this is the case there is certainly need in the United States for an organization devoted exclusively to the study of Russia. When such a society is organized and acquires at least the prestige and the efficiency of the Russia Society Russia will find herself well on the road toward real friendship with the two English-speaking countries which are at the same time the most powerful countries of the world."

4. *M. St. Stanoyevich,* New Serbia and Its Problems ("The Nation," Dec. 13, 1917, p. 660). Compare also: *R. Charmatz,* Zarismus, Panslavismus, Krieg! Wien and Leipzig, Suschitzky, 1915, 56, 2. ed.; *L. Fabinyi,* Die panslavistische Frage (Polen, I, N. 2, 1914, 165-5); *L. Levine,* Pan-Slavism and European Politics (Polit. Science Quarterly, XXIX, 1914, 664-86); *N. Markovitch,* Le pangermanisme en Orient; le crime prémédité, Nice, Rosanoff, 1916, 25; *K. Noetzel,* Die entlarvte Panslavismus und die grosse Aussöhnung der Slaven und Germanen, München, Sachs, 1915, 16; *V. R. Savich,* Southeastern Europe, N. Y., Revell, 1917; *Schliessleder, H.,* Unter dem Zarismus und Panslavismus, München, Seybold, 1915, 30; *F. H. Tyrrell,* The great war between the Teuton and the Slav (United Service Magazine, London, 1914, v. 171, 31-7).

5. *W. Guerrier,* Leibnitz in seinem Beziehungen zu Russland und Peter der Grossen, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1873; *M. Posselt,* Peter der Grosse und Leibnitz, Dorpat & Moskou, 1843. See also: *R. N. Bain:*

(1) The pupils of Peter the Great, 1697-1740, Westminster, 1897; (2) The Daughter of Peter the Great, London, 1889; *Barrow,* The Life of Peter the Great, London, 1873; *Bergholz,* Napoleon Ier, auteur du testament de Pierre le Grand, Brussels, 1863; *Bergmann,* Peter der Grosse, Königsberg-Riga-Mittau, 1823-1830; *Bresslau,* Das Testament Peter des Grossen (Hist. Zeitschrift, v. 41, 1879, 385); *O. Browning,* Life of Peter the Great, London, 1880; *Brückner,* Peter der Grosse (in the Oncken series, Berlin, 1879); *E. Hermann,* Peter der Grosse und der Zarevitsch Alexis, Leipzig, 1880; *J. T. W. Johnston,* World patriots, N. Y., World Patriots Co., 1917; *W. Liszt,* "Das politische Testament Peter der Grossen" und Napoleon Bonaparte's als Verhältnisse zum Weltkrieg, Leipzig, Xenien, 1914, 77; *Mintzlov,* Pierre le Grand dans la littérature étrangère, St. Petersbourg, 1872 (contains bibliographical notes on 1200 works not Russian relating in some way to Peter the Great); *Motley,* Peter the Great (North American Rev., Oct., 1845); *Schuyler,* Peter the Great, N. Y., Scribner, 1884, 2 vols.; *V. de Vogüé,* Les fils de Pierre le Grand, Paris, 1884; *Voltaire,* History of Peter the Great, London, 1860 (see also his Histoire de l'Europe de Russie sous Pierre le Grand, Genève, 1759-1763, 2 vols.); *K. Waliszewski,* Pierre le Grand, Paris, 1897 (translated into English, N. Y., Appleton); Deutschland, Das Verhängnisvolle, oder das Testament Peter der Grossen, Hamburg, 1900. Among the Russian works mention should be made of Nickolas Polevoy (*History of Peter the Great*), D. Merejkowski or Merezhkovsky (his *Peter and Alexis*—a well-informed historical novel), Serge Solovyev, Milyukov, Philippoff, etc. No doubt, every Slav admires the deeds of Peter the Great, except his failure to bring the Russians into the real atmosphere of Western civilization, for instead of "Europeanizing" Russia he only "Germanized" it. It is very interesting to note here that Peter the Great was the Russian ruler who asked alliance with the South-Slavs against Turkey. In 1709 the Russians have beaten the Swedish King Charles XIIth at Poltava, and Charles XIIth ran away to Turks, seeking help from the Sultan Achmed III. Charles influenced the Turkey and she declared war against the Russians in 1711. Count Sava Vladisavich (a Serbian by birth, born in Herzegovina), who at the time was in the service of Russia, advised Peter the Great to ask help from the South-Slavs, especially from the Serbs of Crna Gora (better known by its italianized name, Montenegro) and Heregovina. Peter the Great accepted the good advice, and in 1711 sent to the Montenegro Colonel Mikhail Miloradovich (a Serb from Herzegovina) and Ivan Lukachevich (from Podgoritza, a city in Montenegro), who gave to Prince and Bishop Danilo the Second of Montenegro the autographic letter of Peter the Great in which the Russian autocrat invites Montenegro to fight the Turks. Montenegrins are known for their love of their great Slavic country, Russia. Tzar Alexander IIIrd gave toast to the Prince of Montenegro in 1889, "To Russia's only sincere and faithful friend." Compare this with the bitter cry of the Russian ambassador Kaulbars when leaving the Bulgarian *Sobranje* (=assembly) in 1883: "Pigs, blackguards, liars!" while the Bulgarians replied with cheers.

[This anti-Slavic attitude of some modern Bulgarians is explained by some authors as due to the inheritance from old Bulgars, "the cursed of God," who came and settled themselves down in the midst of the Slavic tribes (Tirnovo, Varna, Silistria were their principal cities). At their

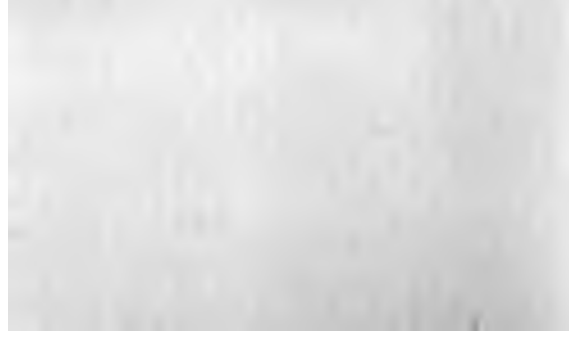
head was a *khan*, assisted by chiefs of the six principal tribes of the nation. Like a true Oriental prince, this khan had a harem; at tables he always ate alone; his courtiers took their repasts at a distance from him, seated on chairs or crouching on their heels. War was the principal occupation of these people; cowardice, disobedience, and neglect of horses and weapons were punished most severely. Money was so rare, even in the tenth century, that cattle formed the main means of barter. Their Slavic neighborhood left an indelible impression upon them, by making them forget their Finnish tongue; but it did not alter their savage customs, and for three centuries they were the terror of the Greek Empire.]

6. By virtue of its geographical situation, its features, and its history, Russia is a land of raw products, although in the past fifty years the manufacturing industry has developed rapidly. Fully 80 per cent. of its population lives by agriculture, yet only 26.3 per cent. of the total area (8,600,000 square miles) is under tillage, and 15.9 per cent. is devoted to gardens, meadows, and pastures. Forests cover 28.8 per cent. and 19.1 per cent. is wholly barren. National wealth of Russia is estimated at 50 billion dollars (it is thus the fifth richest nation). The first surprising thing that strikes an American business man in Russian life is the immense agriculture of the country, in which she surpasses even the United States. Russia is the most important granary of the world (in 1910, when crops everywhere were normal, it exported over 23 million tons of wheat—the United States came next with 22 millions and the total world crop was 96 millions). A comparative table of the products of four cereals in the United States and Russia in 1913 shows the following figures:

	I. *Russia:*	II. *United States:*
	(bushels)	(bushels)
1. Wheat	955,980,000	763,380,000
2. Oats	1,222,875,000	1,121,768,000
3. Barley	562,800,000	178,189,000
4. Rye	999,514,000	41,381,000

Russia is the third tobacco-growing country, represented by 198 millions of pounds (the United States, 722, and British India, 433 millions). It is the second petroleum producing country (the first is the United States). Russia contains more forests than any other country. It raises more horses than any other country, and supplies about one-third of the furs of the world. It has almost illimitable coal resources. It is estimated that there are 75 billions of tons of coal awaiting development in European Russia and 175 billion tons in Asiatic Russia. Much of the business in Russia, wholesale as well as retail, is done at fairs, of which there are over three thousands which take place annually (the most famous fair in the world is that at Nizhni Novgorod). Judged by the amount of its deposits, the Russian state bank is the largest bank in the world. The deposits in Russian banks increased from 2,500,000,000 rubles in 1904 to 6,000,000,000 rubles in 1913, and to 10,000,100,000 rubles in 1917. In spite of the Japanese War and the revolution, the gold reserve in the treasury of the State Bank increased from 1,100,000,000 rubles to 2,200,000,000 rubles in 1913. The per capita debt of Russia

in 1913 was $52; of France, $308; of Great Britain, $179. The per capita state expense of Russia is the lowest in Europe. In 1913 it was $19.5, while in Germany it was $63.3; in France, $52.6; in Great Britain, $40. The receipts of Russian national revenue in 1913 amounted to 3,500,000,000 rubles, equal to one-half that amount in dollars. The greatest drawback of Russian economic life has been the corrupt old political system and the lack of proper railways, roads and general traffic facilities (the length of Russian railways in 1913 was only 54,000 miles, which was inadequate to take care of the rapidly developing commerce of the country). A pet theory in the United States is that the railroads in Russia are in a state of ruin. This is denied by those who know the facts. Yes, the very commission sent by the United States (the Root Commission), and particularly General Scott, has reported "the Tran-Siberian Railway in magnificent shape, despite the reports to the contrary." The Russian natural riches have been exploited so far only in a rather limited way (most of her wealth in the Ural, Caucasus, Altai and Yablonova mountains remained untouched). One of the greatest benefits for Russia after the war will be the full development of her natural resources, the opening of the vast natural riches of the country to the world. While there were large business transactions between the United States and Germany, France, England, Spain, Italy, South America, etc., Russia remained outside the pale of American commerce, in spite of the fact that Russia is four times as large as Europe, three times as the United States, and 44 times as the size of England. It is a pity that Russia figured and continues to figure to the average merchant of the United States, as a country equal to Mexico or the South American, Latin republics. For at least a generation to come the Russian market will offer every opportunity for American business. Ivan Narodny says rightly that it is not strange at all that the United States, which is foremost in industrial development, is far behind the other countries in the knowledge of principles which underlie international trade. This is due to the fact that American business men have been in the habit of transacting their export business almost entirely through European middlemen. The policy of the United States has been that of watchful waiting for orders from the English, the Germans, the Dutch and merchants of other nations. For some time to come neither Germany nor France will be able to go into Russia, for even if this war does not last long, its havoc will take years to repair. Endless readjustments will have to take place in each country affected by the war. Here is where the United States's wonderful opportunities lie, and if she is prepared for it, America can more than triple her foreign trade within a period of a few years, even when the ammunition orders stop. In one word: Whatever may happen to the nations engaged in the present World War between Russia and her conquest still lie those impenetrable spaces where the armies of Napoleon Bonaparte and Jenghis Khan lie buried, the armies that the world has not forgotten. No doubt, at the close of this World War, Russia will be about the most promising field in the world in which to invest capital, for it has the most tremendous possibilities in every dimension. [See: *Leo. M. Pasvolsky:* (1) Economic Russia, N. Y., Leach & Co., 1917, 98; (2) The change in Russia: Its Significance, N. Y., Leach & Co., 1917, 11].



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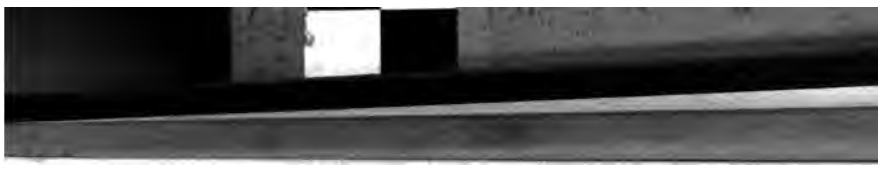

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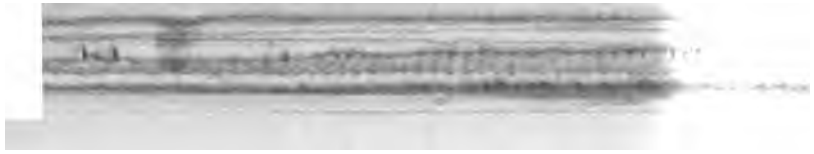

A. NOTE WITH A TABLE

For the English-speaking people it is not easy to spell and pronounce correctly Slavic words, for Slavic tongues are written in three alphabets: (*1*) *Latinitza*, adapted to express Slavic sounds either by diacritical marks or else by conventional combinations of Latin letters among those who had Latin Roman Catholic Church services (Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks and Lusatian Serbs); (*2*) *Cyrillitza*, which is the Greek Liturgical Uncial of the ninth century enriched with special signs for Slavic letters (used by Slavs who belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church, Russians, Serbs, Bulgars); (*3*) *Glagolitza*, in the *spectacled* form of which certain very old Slavic documents were written, and which in another, the *square*, form has survived as a liturgical script in Dalmatia, where the Roman Catholic Church still allows the Slavic liturgy in the dioceses of Krk, Sibenik, Spljet, Zadar, etc. The following table of Professor Morfill indicates these alphabets—the Glagolitic in both forms with numerical values (columns, *1*, *2*, *3*); the Cyrillic in its fullest development (*4*, *5*), with the modern version of it made for Russian (*6*) by Peter the Great's orders; Bulgar uses more or less all the Russian letters but the reversed *e* and the last two, while keeping more old Cyrillic letters, but its spelling is in such a confused state that it is difficult to say which letters may be regarded as obsolete; Serbian (*7*) was reformed by Vuk St. Karadžić on the model of the Russian, with special letters and ligatures added and with unnecessary signs omitted. The old ways of writing Slavic with Latin letters were so confused and variable that none of them are given. The Czechs first attained to a satisfactory system, using diacritical marks invented by Jan Hus. It is rightly said that the Cech (or Czech) alphabet has served more or less as a model for all the other Slavic tongues which use Latin letters, and for that used in scientific grammars, not only of Slavic but of Oriental languages. Column *8* gives the system as applied to Croats, and corresponding exactly to Vuk Karadžić's reformed Cyrillitza. Column *9* gives the Czech alphabet with the exception of long vowels, which are marked by an accent; in brackets are added further signs used in other

Slavic tongues (*e. g.*, Slovene or Lusatian Serb) or in strict transliterations of the Cyrillitza. Polish (*10*) still offers a compromise between the old arbitrary combinations of letters and the Czech principle of diacritical marks. Column *11* shows a convenient system of transliterating the Cyrillitza into Latin letters for the use of English readers without the use of diacritical marks.

GLAGOLITIC				CYRILLIC		LATIN				PHONETIC VALUES
Old	New	Num.	Old	Num.	Russ.	Serb.	Croat	Čechische	Polish	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ⰰ	ⰰ	1	ⰰ	1	Аа	Аа	a	a	a	a
ⰱ	ⰱ	2	ⰱ		Бб	Бб	b	b	b	b
ⰲ	ⰲ	3	ⰲ	2	Вв	Вв	v	v	w	v
ⰳ	ⰳ	4	ⰳ	3	Гг	Гг	g	g	g	g
ⰴ	ⰴ	5	ⰴ	4	Дд	Дд	d	d	d	d
ⰵ	ⰵ	6	ⰵ	(Bulg. Ее) 5	Ее Ѐѐ Ее	Ее	e	e (je,e)	e (je,ie)	e e e or ye
ⰶ	ⰶ	7	ⰶ		Жж	Жж	ž	ž	ż	zh-Fr.j
ⰷ	ⰷ	8	ⰷ	6				(dz) (dź)	dz hard dź soft	dz
ⰸ	ⰸ	9	ⰸ		Зз	Зз	z	z, z'	z hard ź soft	z
ⰹ ⰹ		10	ⰹ	8	Ии Й	J j	j	i j	i j	i y consonantal
ⰺ	ⰺ	20	ⰺ, ⰺ	10	Іі	Іі	i	i	i	i
ⰻ	ⰻ	30	(ђ Serbian)			ђ ђ	dj, Đ, đ	ď		d in endue
ⰼ	ⰼ	40	ⰼ	20	Кк	Кк	k	k	k	k
ⰽ	ⰽ	50	ⰽ		Лл	Лл Љљ	l lj, Ļ, ļ	l (or ł) (l)	ł hard l soft	l labialised l mouillé
ⰾ	ⰾ	60	ⰾ	40	Мм	Мм	m	m	m	m
ⰿ	ⰿ	70	ⰿ	50	Нн	Нн Њњ	n nj, ń	n ň	n hard ń soft	n Span. ñ
ⱀ	ⱀ	80	ⱀ	70	Оо	Оо	o	o ů	o ó	o ů for older o
ⱁ	ⱁ	90	ⱁ	80	Пп	Пп	p	p	p	p

GLAGOLITIC			CYRILLIC			LATIN					PHONETIC
Old	New	Num.	Old	Num.	Russ.	Serb.	Croat	Cech&c.	Polish	VALUES	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
ⰑⰐ	ⰐⰑ	100	Р	100	Рр	Рр	r	r (ŕ)	r	r	
ⰒⰓ	ⰓⰒ	200	С	200	Сс	Сс	s	s (ś)	rz s hard ś soft	s	between r & s
ⰔⰕ	ⰕⰔ	300	Т	300	Тт	Тт	t	t	t hard ť soft	t	
ⰖⰗ	ⰗⰖ	400	ⰎⰏ	400	Уу	Уу	u	u	u	u	
ⰘⰙ	ⰙⰘ	500	Ф	500	Фф	Фф	f	f	f	f	
ⰚⰛ	ⰛⰚ	600	Х	600	Хх	Хх	h	ch h	ch h	kh = Germ. ch h or gh	
ⰜⰝ		700	Ѡ	800				o		Gr. ω	
ⰞⰟ	ⰟⰞ	800	Ш	(Bulg. ш, щ) Щщ	шт	ѕt	ѓt (ѕč)	szcz		sht shch in Ashchurch	
ⰠⰡ	ⰡⰠ	900	Ц	900	Цц	Цц	c ć đ	c (ć) (dź)	c hard ć soft dź	ts between c & t, t in Eng. j creature	
ⰢⰣ	ⰣⰢ	1000	Ч	90	Чч	Чч	č.	č	cz	ch in church	
ⰤⰥ	ⰥⰤ		Ш		Шш	Шш	š	š	sz	sh	
Ⱖ			Ъ		Ъъ			(ŭ)		ŭ in but mute	
ⰧⰨ, ⰩⰪ			Ы, Ы		Ыы					y between i & u cf. Eng. rhythm	
Ⱛ	ⰬⰭ		Ь		Ьь			(ĭ) (ĭ)		ĭ mute, softens preceding conson.	
ⰮⰯ	ⰯⰮ		Ѣ		Ѣѣ	je, nje	ě, je	ě	ie	ye in yes verging into yie	
ⰰⰱ	ⰱⰰ		Ю		Юю	jy	ju	ju	iu, ju	yu	
			Ꙗ			ja	ja	ja	ia, ja	ya	
			Є	(Bulg. Ѥ)		je	je	je	ie, je	ye	
ⰲⰳ			Ѧ, Ѧ		Яя			(ę) ja	ę	in in Fr. fin. ya	
ⰴⰵ			Ѫ		(Bulg. Ѫ)			(ǫ)	ǫ	on in Fr. son ǔ	
ⰶⰷ			Ѩ					(je)	je	ien in Fr. bien	
ⰸⰹ			Ѭ		(Bulg. Ѭ)			(ja)	ja	ion in Fr. action yŭ	
			Ѯ	60				x	ks	x Gr. ξ	
			Ѱ	700				ps	ps	ps Gr. ψ	
ⰺⰻ			Ѳ	9	Ѳѳ					Gr. θ but pron. f	
ⰼⰽ			Ѵ	400	Ѵѵ					Gr. υ and so pron. i or v	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

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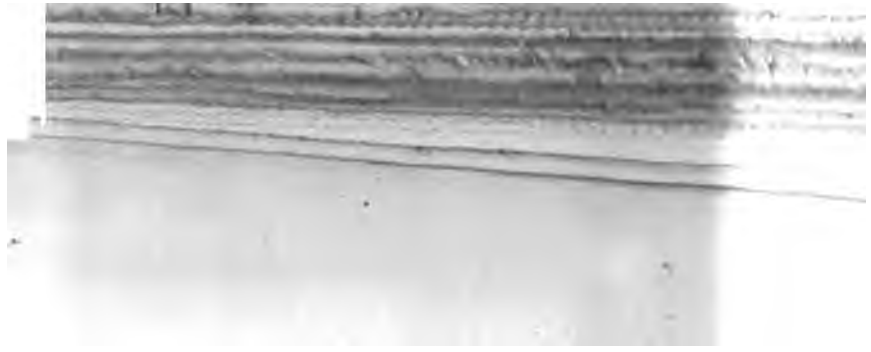
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